

The World Tomorrow

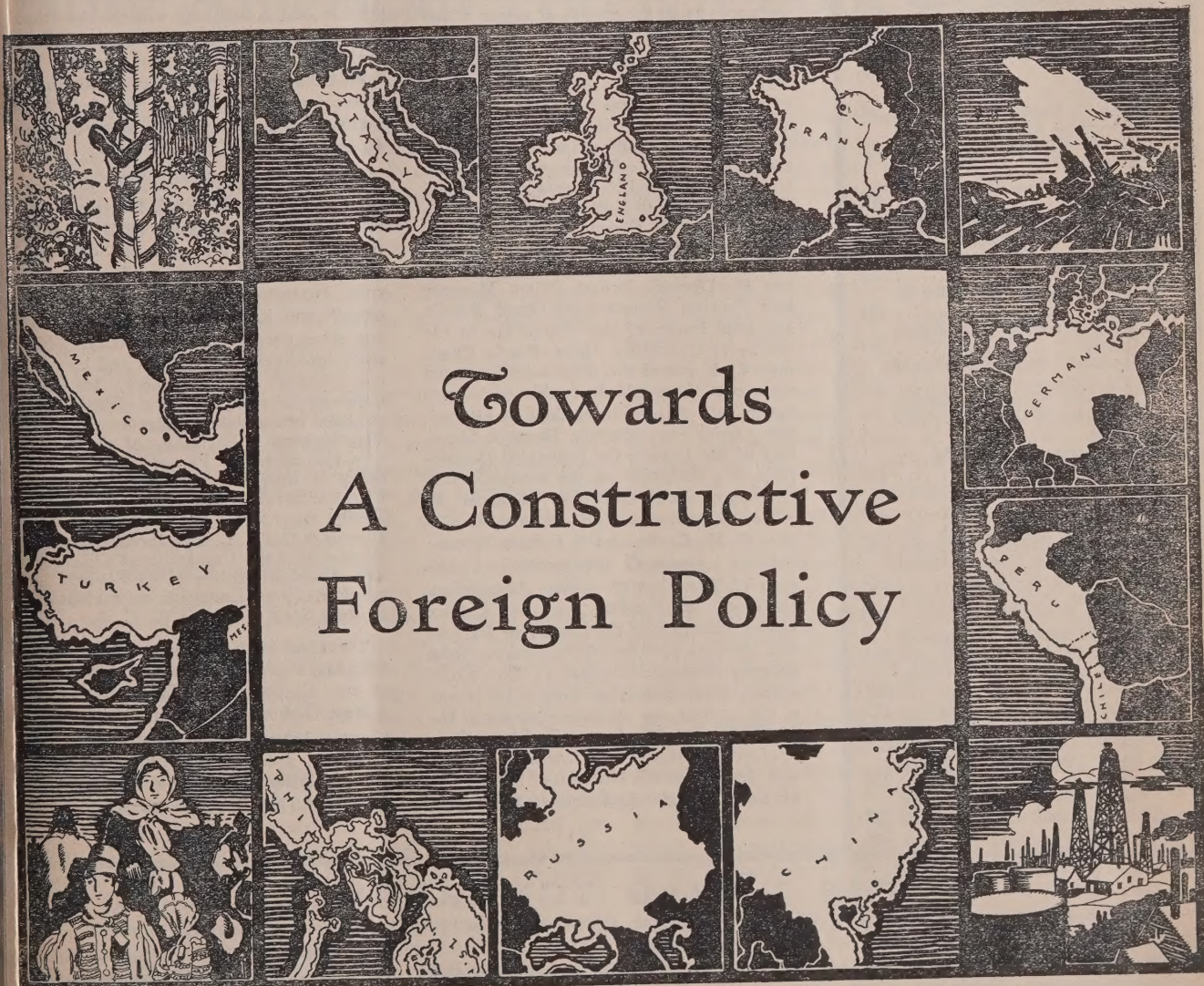
Twenty-five Cents a Copy

Two Dollars a Year

Vol. IX.

NOVEMBER, 1926

No. 6



Towards A Constructive Foreign Policy

The World Tomorrow, Inc.
52 Vanderbilt Avenue, New York, N. Y.

The World Tomorrow

Vol. IX November, 1926 No. 6

Copyright 1926
The World Tomorrow, Inc.

CONTENTS

	PAGE
Cover Sketch. By Byron H. Jackson, Jr.	
How Our Foreign Policy Matters. By J. Ramsay MacDonald.....	191
The Outgrown Doctrine of Monroe. By Carrie Chapman Catt	193
Seeing the World with the Marines. By Norman Thomas..	195
These Sovereign United States. By Francis P. Miller.....	197
Those Perilous Debts. By Kirby Page.....	199
The League of Nations Moves Ahead. By James G. MacDonald	200
The Inevitable League. By Raymond B. Fosdick.....	202
Outlawry of War—A Policy of Abolition. By John Haynes Holmes.....	204
An Interim Program for Peace. By James T. Shotwell.....	208
A Window on the Street. By Devere Allen.....	210
Worthwhile Plays. By Coley B. Taylor.....	211
Not in the Headlines. By Agnes A. Sharp.....	212
Oncomers—A Page for Future World Citizens.....	213
McAlister Coleman, Wendell Phillips: Pioneer of Freedom.	
Building Tomorrow's World. By Kirby Page.....	214
Lullaby Burial. By Genevieve Taggard.....	215
Labor Has Words with the Church. By Hubert C. Herring	216
Youth Ventures Toward Good Will. By O. B. Gerig.....	218
Does Religion Quiet or Disquiet? By Reinhold Niebuhr.....	220
Singing the Beard of the Spanish Censor. By H. C. Engelbrecht	222
A New Literature for Children. By Marjorie Worthington.....	224
Books on International Affairs..	226
Fine Plays at Low Prices. By Coley B. Taylor.....	231
For Group Discussion. By Grace Loucks.....	232
Windham County Sonnets. By Harriet Sampson.....	233
The Last Page.....	234

The Point of View

THE first word in the title of this number should be emphasized. The government of the United States has no well defined foreign policy. We are drifters on the international sea. Today, we proceed in one direction and tomorrow, in another. Our official conduct is frequently in direct opposition to our most hallowed traditions. Other nations are puzzled to know what we will do next. Moreover, those among us who are widest awake on world problems cannot agree as to the course of action which our country should adopt.

Because of the extreme importance of this question, we are glad we have been able to persuade such a notable and diversified group of contributors to share their convictions with our readers. Several of them are world figures and are pre-eminently qualified to discuss their respective phases of the general subject. No other person in Europe is better able to point out the significance of our contacts with the rest of the world than is J. Ramsay MacDonald, former Prime Minister and Foreign Secretary of Great Britain and now leader of the Opposition in the House of Commons. Mrs. Carrie Chapman Catt, one of the most widely known women of the world, has achieved a reputation as a discerning student of international questions. Norman Thomas, Secretary of the League for Industrial Democracy, is a specialist on the economic side of international relations. Francis P. Miller is a National Student Secretary of the Y. M. C. A. and a former Rhodes Scholar. James G. McDonald is Chairman of The Foreign Policy Association. Raymond B. Fosdick was for a time Under Secretary of the League of Nations and has just returned from Geneva. John Haynes Holmes, Minister of The Community Church in New York City, is one of the earliest and ablest exponents of the outlawry of war. James T. Shotwell is Professor of History at Columbia University, director of the Division of Economics of the Carnegie Endowment for Inter-

national Peace, and a leader in the movement for international arbitration and disarmament.

ONE feature of this issue deserves especial mention. The League of Nations and the outlawry of war are treated in relation to each other. Too frequently the advocates of one have been in strong opposition to the supporters of the other. Our own conclusion is that neither one is adequate without the other. Comprehensive international machinery seems to us to be essential to peace and justice but nevertheless may constitute a grave menace as long as war is a legal method of dealing with disputes between nations.

Among the contributors to our non-topical section: **Hubert C. Herring** is Secretary of the Commission of Social Relations of the Congregational Churches. **Reinhold Niebuhr** emerged from the recent controversy in Detroit over the church and labor with more credit than any other person because he is one of the most intelligent, outspoken and courageous ministers in this country. **McAlister Coleman** is a well known publicist and student of social problems. **Marjorie Worthington** is Secretary of the Literature Committee of Pioneer Youth. **O. B. Gerig** is New England Secretary of the Friends Service Committee. **Coley B. Taylor** is on the Editorial Staff of E. P. Dutton & Co. **H. C. Engelbrecht**, formerly instructor at the University of Chicago, is now Assistant Editor of The World Tomorrow. **Grace Loucks** is on the National Student Staff of the Y. W. C. A.

The chief book reviews are by **Paul H. Douglas**, Professor of Industrial Relations at the University of Chicago; **Herbert Adams Gibbons**, author of a dozen significant volumes on world problems; **Gail Kennedy**, professor at Amherst College; **Devere Allen**, Executive and Literary Editor of The World Tomorrow.

THE WORLD TOMORROW

Published monthly at 52 VANDERBILT AVENUE, NEW YORK, by THE WORLD TOMORROW, INC.

JOHN NEVIN SAYRE, President;
KENNETH E. WALSER, Treasurer.KIRBY PAGE, Editor
DEVERE ALLEN, Executive and Literary EditorAGNES A. SHARP, Managing Editor
H. C. ENGELBRECHT, Assistant Editor

CONTRIBUTING EDITORS: Sarah N. Cleghorn, Sherwood Eddy, Zona Gale, John Haynes Holmes, Paul Jones, Rufus M. Jones, A. J. Muste, Reinhold Niebuhr, Richard Roberts, Anna Rochester, Norman Thomas, Harry F. Ward.

EDITORIAL COUNCIL: Contributing Editors and Leslie Blanchard, Samuel M. Cavert, Amy Blanche Greene, Douglas Haskell, Charles S. Johnson, F. Ernest Johnson, Joshua Lieberman, David R. Porter, John Nevin Sayre, Ridgely Torrence, Henry P. Van Dusen.

FOREIGN CORRESPONDENTS: A. Maude Royden (England); Arnold Wolfers (Germany); Henry T. Hodgkin (China). Correspondents in other countries will be added.

OFFICE STAFF: Jean Ford, advertising manager; Della Dever, Grace Lumpkin, Ruth Magai, Thanet Mellick, Jeannette Randolph, Wallace Thurman.

THE WORLD TOMORROW is published on the first of the month. Single copies, 25 cents; \$2 per year; Canada, \$2.25; foreign, \$2.50. Orders for copies, subscriptions and all correspondence should be sent to THE WORLD TOMORROW, 52 Vanderbilt Ave., New York City. London representative, Edgar Dunstan, 11 Lincoln's Inn Fields, London. Annual subscription, 10s. post free. Entered as Second Class Matter, Sept. 30, 1926, at the Post Office of New York, N. Y., under the act of March 3, 1879.

The World Tomorrow

A Journal Looking Toward a Social Order Based on the Religion of Jesus

Vol. IX.

NOVEMBER, 1926

No. 6

How American Foreign Policy Matters

J. RAMSAY MacDONALD

AMERICA, I sometimes think, is apt to suffer from the psychological delusion of geography and space. The Atlantic is thousands of miles broad and the Pacific still more thousands, therefore, the United States, sufficient unto itself in so many material ways and passing rich in its shekels, is apt to consider itself as a state apart, which though in the world is not of the world—a state that can go its own way, enjoy the luxury of following its own sweet will, and play the role of partner when it suits itself and under conditions which suit itself.

As a simple matter of fact, that is not the position at all. Because the United States exists as a great nation, it cannot help influencing the world and being influenced by the world. The very Monroe Doctrine, so often regarded as an act of isolation, was proclaimed, not by reason of self-centered vanity, but because the United States was afraid in 1823 that subversive doctrines and policies, such as were the outcome of the Holy Alliance, might come across the Atlantic, undermine institutions and endanger the state. Today, its policy of defense (and there is no policy of defense that is not one of potential offense whatever governments and nationalist newspapers may say, or even think) is a world policy. The only choice that is before the United States is, therefore, not whether or not it is to have a world influence, but what is to be the nature of that influence and how it is to be pursued.

THE purpose of this article is neither to criticise nor to make proposals regarding the world policy of the United States. That would be a task of supererogation, and for undertaking it I should rightly be told to mind my own business. All I intend to try is to indicate how the policy of the United States must influence the world policy of other states, and determine to some extent their own internal condition. Policies should be undertaken with some foresight, knowledge and definite aim, otherwise the laws of chance in a world of complex and conflicting forces may give them a chaotic or a foolish ending. For instance, the war speeches of the leaders of political parties in every nation under heaven will always be melancholy reading in relation to realized purposes. Let anyone sit down and read them today, and see how wide they were of the mark they thought they were hitting.

Europe after the War will always remain a background to

every study of the influence on the world of United States policy. United States loans to the Allies and the consequential financial policy of the Allies to Germany, have enabled the States to hold the larger nations of Europe in fee. It is true that in blood, heated to irrational temperature by the War, the Allies really believed that they could transfer from Berlin wealth to compensate them for war costs and losses, and thus began the Reparations policy enshrined in the Versailles Treaty. But a little experience brought much sanity, and when the Ruhr escapade was ended, had the sobered nations been free they would have begun a retreat to sound economics. That can never happen, however, so long as the debt policy of the United States remains what it is. This is an illustration of how a policy, devised and defended on the ground of the business letter, may as a matter of fact not be a business policy at all, but a social one because its consequences raise great overshadowing questions with which business has nothing to do. It also illustrates how mistaken the United States is if it assumes that its debt policy is nothing more than the claim of one strictly honest man against another; it is a policy which affects European budgets, exchanges, production, markets, standards of life, industrial development, the psychological relations of Europe to America.

AS a result of the War the financial transactions of the United States have been woven like a network over Europe, and this again brings the nation into closer contact with the world. The United States has made enormous economic gains out of the War; Europe has been impoverished. In consequence, the States is accused of flaunting its money in the face of the world. Not only do the powerful financial interests which hold European mortgages try to influence policy, but the government is never able to forget the investments of its citizens in its relations with foreign powers. Investments by nationals have frequently been an introduction to political interference by governments, especially in weak and tottering states of which there are more than usual scattered about the world at present. The revolution in United States financial transactions and its rise as a great creditor nation must in the end revolutionize its political relations to the world. British policy as regards Russia is unblushingly confessed by our present government to be determined by the Soviets' treatment of its British creditors,

and American policy in China is not uniformly independent of economic interests. In all likelihood the tremendous expansion of the United States as a creditor nation will give financial interests an increasing power in both the national and international policies of European states, and though that is by no means new, its strengthening is not really for the good of the people. In this connection, I must note the effect on Europe of the tariff policy of the States, which with its financial policy is raising in Europe an economic alliance of protection and aggression against what, rightly or wrongly, is becoming to be regarded as an intention to hold Europe in financial subjection to the west.

Another item in United States policy which is to have considerable effect upon Europe is that of immigration. The United States ought not to be asked to keep an open door, unless that suits it, to everybody who can take a steamer ticket and go westward to find employment, a means of living and a home. Our own Dominions restrict the numbers and define the qualifications of those they admit. A state has a perfect right, moral as well as constitutional, to protect its standards of life and its civilization, providing of course that it is not merely obstructing the use of the world's resources. But if the surplus population of Europe is dammed up within Europe, if there is no drainage for the swamps of our people, we shall have to face the world-old problem of how to deal with too many mouths, a rise of prices and a lowering of the standards of life. This will influence Europe in revolutionary ways, will narrow and harden the nationalist spirit, give a new impetus to imperialist colonial expansion and increase the menace of European powers to the weaker and the native states. This is being seen already in Italian policy, and it is interesting to note that the stream of Irish emigration westwards having been limited, the surplus is flowing into the southwest of Scotland and Wales, and there is some indication of an anti-Irish movement in both these places. One of the results of this on Europe will undoubtedly be to give impetus to a conscious movement in Europe for the limitation of population by birth control. In view of the attitude of the Roman Catholic church, however, this is not without ominous consequences.

EUROPEAN nations with interests in the Far East and the Pacific are somewhat uncertain regarding the objective of United States policy in these regions. Essentially, we assume, it is defensive, defensive against racial penetration and also against a possible military attack. From the field covered by the strategy of this defense China cannot be excluded. So the problem becomes confused with economic influence which China at once brings into play. There is a growing feeling in Europe that United States influence in China needs some defining. It is not only governmental but private, and it is not difficult to imagine how a situation might arise when the government at Washington may have to be responsible for the political schemes of its nationals in China, because they will give rise to danger to other nationals and a control of Chinese policy.

British interests in the Pacific will have to be safeguarded, and of course the best way to do this is by open and honest agreement in which both Japan and Australasia should be partners. There are difficulties in the way of this, one of which is the relations between America and Japan. In the meantime, partly as a consequence of the defeat of

Germany, and partly of the evolution of public opinion in Australia, Great Britain is pursuing a new naval policy in the Pacific which will centre in the new base at Singapore. My opinion of that policy is, I hope, sufficiently well known. It is one of those ventures which begins by a superficial study of maps. "I have to make provision against the possibility of an attack from any quarter," says the naval expert. "If the statesman finds that I am a menace whilst pursuing my duty—well, that is his affair, not mine. I deal with ships, not with the political origins of war. Now, here is a point where trade routes converge. Here is a bottle neck, etc., etc., etc." And there a dockyard is built and amplified. It is not formally and officially stated that United States policy in the Pacific influences ours, though I have heard it said in the House of Commons—not by responsible Front Bench men—that the development of Singapore would be welcomed by the United States and would be a factor in friendly cooperation with our friends across the Atlantic. The policy of the States in Central America, especially the fortification of the Panama Canal, coupled with the racial friction with the other side of the Pacific, makes the ocean the possible theatre of a terrible struggle, one of the difficulties of which will be for the enemies to get at each other. Politeness, finesse and diplomatic deportment will keep the development of this position in the hearts of people, and in the secret pigeon holes of states, but it is an ever present thought. All I wish to point out is, that in a somewhat vague and undefined, but not the less real, kind of way United States policy in the Pacific is influencing sections here, and is a consideration in our new Pacific strategy and the Singapore escapade, and that in any attempt made from Europe to conclude a really effective agreement which would give all parties a sense of security against war in the Pacific, America must hold a commanding position.

WHEN the War was over and the clouds that obscured common sense whilst it lasted began slowly to roll away, the masses of the people in all the belligerent countries shivered when they found how little it had done except to destroy, and they were anxious in the rebuilding that was necessary to reject completely the old diplomacy which proceeded on the assumption that nations could secure peace and defend themselves by military programs based upon their own power supplemented by alliances. They were determined to try the new idea embodied in the League of Nations. Undoubtedly, the decision of America to remain out of the League and its subsequent decision to impose conditions, which European nations are not likely to accept, upon its entering the World Court, have tended to throw European nations back upon the old diplomacy and have exposed the League to the intrigues of rival European powers with results such as we saw at Geneva in the spring of this year. At the same time, the attitude of the United States to Russia has been a factor of considerable importance in stiffening the backs of the reactionary and unenlightened governments of Europe against diplomatic relations with that country. Had these relations been developed in accordance with the policy of the late Labor Government, no political advantage would have accrued to Moscow, but a good part of the industrial difficulties and the political fevers of Europe would have been removed. No responsible person blames the United States for those decisions. Europe with

all its experience of this generation may regard the attitude of the States to the League and the Court as old-fashioned, but the States can reply that it can afford to be isolated on account of its geographical position, and that a mental attitude which has been proved to lead to the undoing of European states with co-terminous borders will have no such consequences to the United States. If the moral argument is raised that the States ought to take a world view and consider the effect of its actions in relation to world problems and strivings, and not only to itself, I admit that very few nations and statesmen in Europe are entitled to address that argument to the American people, considering what they are doing themselves.

So I have left moral considerations out of this article. I remain one of those whose opinions of the United States

are for the moment held at a discount, because I believe that the traditions which the people of the States have inherited are good, and that they will yet help the world not by their cash (which even when given freely makes jealousy and resentment) but by their ideas. No ocean however wide can divide them from the world; no charity, however generous, will continue to satisfy them. The more they know our difficulties intimately, the less contented will they be with the argument that we are hopelessly lost in sin, and if they decide to sit at the same Council Board as ourselves, it will not be to side with this nation or that in a squabble between allies, but to advance ideas and to find friends in all the nations working for large human aims like the establishment of peace and the enfranchisement of justice.

The Outgrown Doctrine of Monroe

CARRIE CHAPMAN CATT

ON December 2, 1823, President Monroe made "the doctrine" the chief theme of a message to Congress. All Presidents lay frequent messages before Congress dealing with questions or situations crucial at the moment. Such messages usually serve a transitory purpose and are soon forgotten; this one inaugurated a foreign policy which has survived after the conditions which inspired it have entirely passed.

Washington, in his Farewell Address, had warned his country against "entangling alliances" with Europe and there was compelling reason for the advice. In 1783, at the close of the Revolution, a treaty with Great Britain fixed the boundaries of the United States as the Atlantic Ocean, the Gulf of Mexico, the Mississippi River and the Great Lakes, excluding Florida belonging to Spain and that part of Louisiana east of the Mississippi belonging to France. It was bounded on the north by British Canada, on the west by an enormous French territory and on the south by a vast Spanish territory. The entire population of the United States at that time was smaller than that of the City of New York today and the population of that city was smaller than its present fire department. It was far too weak to meet the armies of any of its neighbors and dignified, unoffending aloofness was obviously the only sensible foreign policy. Already difficulties between England and France had proved embarrassing as the sympathies of the people of the United States were divided and both sides were active in support of their views. At the moment of Washington's admonition there was genuinely threatening danger to the peace and permanence of the young Republic. "No alliance with quarreling nations" became the slogan of all leaders and parties.

The need of isolation did not change within the next twenty-five years. Napoleon had led Europe into a war that literally shook that continent to its foundation. During the peace conferences that followed (1815) the Holy Alliance, entered into by the monarchies of Russia, Prussia and Austria, was formed. The monarchs of these nations agreed to

rule according to "the principles which the Divine Savior has taught to mankind." In practice this meant to stand together for the maintenance of despotic governments and to unite against all attempts to establish democratic governments.

MEANWHILE a great change had come for the United States. Louisiana had been purchased from Napoleon in 1803, a tract covering one million square miles and stretching from the Gulf of Mexico to "Oregon's enraptured shores." Florida had been purchased from Spain in 1819 and Mexico, including Texas and California and all that lay between, had won its independence from Spain in 1821. The fear aroused by powerful and greedy neighbors was disappearing and in its place a self-confidence with outbursts of pert pugnacity was growing up.

What President Monroe expressed was merely the sentiment that had been maturing for a generation. He spoke, as many Presidents do, less to his people at home than to his enemies abroad. The "principles" in the message fell into three main groups, which, much abridged, are:

1. The American continents, being free and independent, are no longer open to colonization by European powers. We have not taken part in European wars and politics and do not intend to.
2. We shall consider any attempt by European powers to extend their political system to any part of this hemisphere as dangerous to our peace and safety, but we have not interfered and shall not interfere with the existing colonies of European powers.
3. We shall consider any attempt by European powers to oppress or control the free states of the Americas as an act unfriendly to the United States. We expect to leave these independent nations to take care of themselves and we expect other powers to do the same.

In other words it was the early form of America for Americans and Europe for Europeans with the United States as the guardian and protector of the western hemisphere. It has been frequently noted that such a declaration was

and is as strong as the American army and navy and no stronger. The European reactionaries accepted it on this interpretation as numerous comments prove. One will suffice. Chateaubriand, Minister of Foreign Affairs for France, said that it "ought to be resisted by all the powers possessing either territory or commercial interests in that hemisphere." Fortunately for the United States the continental powers were busy with the overwhelming problems which always follow wars: high cost of living, unemployment, crime, unrest and bad money. More, they were embroiled in difficulties with their neighbors and their treasuries were taxed to the limit and their armies and navies were fully employed. Americans contend that the militant tenor of the Monroe pronouncement kept imperialistic Europe from our shores during the next half century. It was indeed a bold bluff of a small nation, but the bluff was never called.

SHORTLY after the pronouncement Henry Clay attempted to put it into the form of a resolution and have it adopted by Congress, but he was unsuccessful and no further effort was made to transform it into a law.

When the first draft of the Covenant of the League of Nations was brought back from Paris, Mr. Wilson requested Mr. Taft to indicate the changes that might make it more acceptable to this country. Mr. Taft drafted a paragraph and at Mr. Wilson's urgent request it was included in the Covenant as Article XXI. It reads:

"Nothing in this Covenant shall be deemed to affect the validity of international engagements such as treaties of arbitration or regional understandings like the Monroe Doctrine, for securing the maintenance of peace."

It was adopted as an obvious concession to American prejudice in the expectation that it would win the allegiance of the United States. It is a curious fact, but this is the first instance at home or abroad when the Monroe Doctrine has been recognized as an established order by a legal document. Whatever the Doctrine may properly be called, it is not an "international engagement" for it requires at least two nations to enter an engagement and to warrant the agreement being called international. Nor is it a regional understanding. Mr. Taft had declared in a speech in 1906 that "the frontiers of the United States virtually extend to Tierra del Fuego", but few people in this country and none in any other would agree with his boundaries.

The circumstances of Monroe's day are today utterly changed. Kings and monarchies have largely disappeared. Penetration of territory in possessions of other nations by colonization is passed. Instead, penetration by economic exploitation is the present day source of fear and anxiety. The United States has now no need of defense from an aggressive Europe. The tables are turned, and Europe now fears the aggressive "dollar diplomacy" of this country.

These fundamental changes have virtually wrecked the Monroe Doctrine. Instead of non-interference with European colonies, as promised in 1823, the United States took Cuba, Porto Rico, Guam and the Philippines from Spain. Instead of leaving the independent nations to take care of themselves as pledged, it made war upon Mexico (1846) without just cause and "acquired" Spanish New Mexico and California. A whole host of similar facts might be marshalled, as for instance, the assistance given Panama in the

effort to gain independence from Colombia and the immediate annexation of the Canal Zone; the assumption of receiverships for the customs of San Domingo, Nicaragua, Haiti and Honduras; the intervention in the political affairs of Cuba and Mexico; the sale of arms to the *de facto* government in Mexico and the embargo on arms for the revolutionists; the sudden appearance of warships when some local political tempest in a teapot is stirring here and there.

Such and similar acts have aroused suspicion of the motives of this country throughout Latin America. This suspicion is gradually becoming a settled conviction that the Monroe Doctrine is a resolution to keep European exploiters away from this hemisphere in order to reserve its opportunities for their own countrymen. South and Central America seethe with dread of our intentions. American capital in vast amounts, invested in mines, oil, fruits and diverse enterprises, augment the fear and suspicion. A book of quotations from newspapers, current writers, books and speeches, might be gathered showing collectively the spirit of our Spanish neighbors, voicing in varying degrees the declaration of one powerful editor: "The Doctrine of Monroe is the shield and buckler of United States aggression; it is a sword suspended by a hair over the Latin continent."

ALTHOUGH kindly disposed private citizens are repeatedly giving assurance of the friendliness of this people for all its neighbors, the fact remains that private citizens do not possess the authority to interpret the Doctrine. Those who have had this right, the Secretaries of State and the Presidents, have often spoken in other terms. Secretary of State Olney in the Cleveland Cabinet declared: "The United States is practically sovereign on this continent and its fiat is law upon the subject to which it confines its interposition." President Roosevelt in a Congressional message of 1904 said: "The adherence of the United States to the Monroe Doctrine may force the United States . . . to the exercise of an international police power."

Meanwhile conditions have also changed vastly in Latin America. The growing, self-conscious states of the southern continent feel the Monroe Doctrine as tutelage and a pretext for undisturbed exploitation, and they resent it. The cause of this irritation is chiefly that conditions which inspired the Doctrine have disappeared, that the pledges under the Doctrine have been broken and that varying applications of it leave all observers in doubt as to its present-day meaning.

South America therefore proposed that the Doctrine be reinterpreted and be made a policy of the whole western hemisphere. But Secretary Hughes insisted that it must remain the purely United States policy it has been and that further interpretations will be made, as before, by this country. Trying again, a group of South American countries proposed at the Santiago meeting of the Pan-American Union and American League of Nations which should assume the principles of this Doctrine. The delegates of the United States opposed it and the suspicion of our intentions was thereby augmented instead of diminished.

The situation demands either a clear and complete definition of the Monroe Doctrine as a present-day policy, or its abolition. Neither is likely since it is so much easier to drift. But drifting is a menace to the "peace and safety" of the country.

Seeing the World with the Marines

NORMAN THOMAS

"We have fought in every clime and place
Where we could take a gun."

ASSUREDLY there is more truth than poetry in these two lines from the song of the United States marines. A history of the marines written in 1918 records the fact that these soldiers of the sea have taken their guns into Egypt, Algiers, Tripoli, Mexico, China, Korea, Japan, Cuba, Porto Rico, Panama, Nicaragua, Santo Domingo, Formosa, Sumatra, Hawaii, Guam, Samoa, Alaska, Philippine Islands and Haiti. They have improved the record since. Even those of us who feel most uncertain about American history will be ready to take oath that the United States never had wars with all those countries. What were the marines doing on these various occasions? Well, they were intervening for a variety of alleged reasons, including the greater glory of God, the protection of American lives, the prestige of the American flag, the benefit of the poor benighted natives, and the education of our boys who have joined the marines to see the world. And always, at least in more recent times, there has been the question of somebody's profit in the background.

Only the other day the newspapers recorded the fact that the gunboat Pigeon, patrolling the Yangtse River hundreds of miles from the sea, was caught in the cross fire between rival armies. The United States is even now building in Chinese ports two gunboats for this sort of patrol work. Certain American labor unions are protesting against building the boats in China. They ought rather to protest against building any boats anywhere to be used in Chinese waters, for we have no conceivable right there except the right of might. So far this American intervention has been without bloodshed. But the exercise of similar "rights" by the British on the Yangtse led to one of the gravest crimes of modern times: the recent bombardment by a British gunboat of the virtually defenseless city of Wan-hsien with the killing of at least a thousand civilians—an act of vengeance in a quarrel which could readily have found a peaceful settlement. In the troubled condition of China there is all too much likelihood that some similar outbreak may put a lasting stain upon America's honor and further embitter China against the Western Powers.

It is idle to say that there is some virtue in Americans to prevent such a tragic misuse of power against a weaker people. Remember the bombardment of Vera Cruz in April 1914 which cost the lives of over 200 Mexican men, women and children. The immediate cause was an alleged insult to the American flag. Does any reputable historian today justify President Wilson's action in ordering that bombardment?

INTervention, however lofty may be its alleged object, is always the assertion of the power of the stronger nation over the weaker. "Its essence is illegality and it can only be justified by success." Many people who oppose war are inclined to applaud the repeated acts of intervention by American forces of one sort or another. (That is, if they

happen to read the obscure despatches about them which are usually lost in the mass of news about the most recent sporting event or the stock market reports.) But actually the only difference between such intervention and war is that the little nations cannot fight back, at any rate, not effectively enough to bother us.

We have seen how considerable and immediate this problem of intervention already is. It may become acute before this article sees the light of day, in China or Latin America. We can never deal with intervention, however, as with a series of isolated incidents. Intervention is part and parcel of imperialism. In the metaphor of another day, it is the spearhead of imperialism. In its modern form of economic penetration it goes on in many countries where there is no active intervention by force of arms. Nevertheless, without the possibility of military intervention, imperialism soon declines.

LET us now consider typical reasons for intervention. First, there is intervention by a stronger nation to protect the lives of its citizens among "backward" peoples. It is remarkable how much more valuable the life of an American is in China than in New York or Chicago. An elderly American was recently killed in Mexico by bandits. (It might have happened in Chicago.) At once certain papers began to shriek for vengeance. Intervention or the demand for intervention was forestalled only by the prompt action of the Mexican government in killing some thirteen bandits or alleged bandits. If the same ratio were maintained in the United States the population of some of our cities would be greatly diminished. But American citizens not only acquire a value abroad that they do not have at home, but we also deny foreign nationals a similar value in our country. About the time of the Rosenthal murder in Mexico, a Mexican paper alleged that four Mexicans had been unjustly killed in Texas. But nothing happened.

Missionaries often become peculiarly valuable and important to worldly governments—in death. Yet some do not understand the sort of ends their idealism is made to serve. Unfortunately missionary propaganda itself has often departed from the spiritual and has unduly stressed other matters, as for instance the connection between business and Bibles. Consider such placards as were displayed at the Methodist Centenary: "Much Bible, much business; no Bible, no business." "Livingstone first; gold and diamonds afterwards."

A second reason for intervention is the collection of debts. The Latin American countries in general have held to the celebrated Drago Doctrine, namely, that in America at least, there should be no collection of debts from weaker nations by force of arms. The United States in the past was inclined to look at this doctrine with friendly eyes, though it never formally adopted it. In 1907 at the Hague it agreed that there should be no intervention, unless the debtor nation had either refused arbitration of the claim or declined to abide by the result of that arbitration. It

cannot be said that this agreement has stopped intervention. It may have resulted, as for instance in our action in Nicaragua, Haiti and Santo Domingo, in camouflaging the reasons for intervention.

This brings us to the third type of intervention for which no one specific reason is usually given, but for which the cause is a complex of the economic interests of the stronger country. Such has been our intervention in numerous Latin American countries. We do not intervene to collect a specific debt, but rather to establish those conditions of law and order under which our economic penetration can best proceed. In the case of the Caribbean nations the desire to protect the approaches to the Panama Canal has been another factor.

NO one can understand intervention without realizing the close relation between our government and our foreign investors. American gunboats have carried the agents of American oil and tobacco interests from port to port in Near Eastern waters. The threat of American intervention, legalized by a forced treaty, keeps Cuba docile to the sugar barons, American marines, largely for the benefit of the National American marines, largely for the benefit of the National City Bank, and marines were only withdrawn from Santo Domingo after every act of the American occupation for the benefit of American investors had been legalized.

The record of actual intervention, past and present, suffices to intimidate other little countries without the use of the military. It also helps bankers float the bond issues of weaker nations. Thus the bonds of San Salvador were floated on the waves of a definite statement by the bankers that the United States government would back up any decision which might be given by a Federal judge, to whom (under the recent treaty with San Salvador) a dispute over the custom revenues guaranteeing the debt might be referred. Secretary Hughes denied that our government was bound to back up such a decision. But the denial was formal and in view of our record was taken with many grains of salt by the rest of the world. The State Department's declaration of March 3, 1922, shows how matters now stand: "Because of the vital influence upon our future foreign relations it is the desire of the government that it be duly and adequately informed regarding such transactions, viz. the flotation of issues of foreign bonds in the American market, before their consummation, so that it might express itself regarding them if that should be requested or seem advisable." Our foreign investments, thus officially inspected and in the case of some Latin American countries protected by special treaties, are increasing at the rate of about one billion dollars a year.

In the stronger countries also our financial power may have great weight. Undoubtedly the loan of our bankers to Mussolini strengthened his dictatorship. But there will scarcely be active intervention in a country like Italy. In Canada, where more American capital is invested than British, there will be no intervention or talk of intervention so long as the government is as generally satisfactory to investors as it is. But in Latin America there will be just as much intervention, moral, economic and military, as is

necessary to put over our policy, that is to say, the policy of American investors. The government which approves every loan will not be overscrupulous about making its approval mean something.

The likelihood of intervention when necessary is increased by the direct concern of our government about such natural resources as oil and rubber. A sinister sentence in the recent report of the Conservation Board, comprising the Secretaries of War, Commerce, the Navy, and Interior, after speaking of oil reserves in Mexico and South America, declares that American companies "should vigorously acquire and explore such fields" as of first importance "not only as a source of future supply, but *supply under the control of our own citizens.*" (Italics mine). Not for one moment will these Secretaries hesitate to make that control effective. And from all present indications they can count on national self-interest, national pride, national hysteria to back them issues of foreign bonds in the American market, before their up, although only the profit of favored groups is involved.

WHAT shall we do about it? Missionaries and business men who go into disturbed areas might help by taking the stand advocated by some missionaries, namely that they do not expect to have a doubtful protection for themselves at the cost of reprisals which may kill hundreds of boys on both sides who have no quarrel with one another. The rest of us can agitate and educate for the adoption of the Shipstead (originally Ladd) resolution which would completely divorce the government from the business of obtaining and underwriting financial arrangements for our citizens in foreign countries. So great is the wealth of the United States that the profit to be had by gaining American markets and obtaining the help of American capital is of itself sufficient in the long run to guarantee that we shall not suffer economically by a policy of decency.

But the Shipstead resolution is too negative to be a final solution of the problem of economic interdependence in a world of supposedly sovereign nations. Heretofore the strong nations have claimed the right to do as they liked with their own and to take what they need from the weak. By intervention and wars, imperialism has established a partial, though coerced and unstable economic unity which is essential to our modern life. By cooperation, education, and some sort of international economic control we must build a new interdependent world order in which the rights of all people, whether more or less economically advanced, shall be given due regard. For we are so dependent upon certain natural resources that these cannot be kept from general use by any national dog-in-the-manger policy. The Shipstead resolution will not pass, nor can it long endure, unless there is a steady growth of effective internationalism which will at length work out some form of equitable control of raw materials. With that must go a new faith in slow but sure methods of education, persuasion and self development among the so-called backward peoples as far more valid agencies of civilization than guns, poison gas and military rule. To substitute cooperation between nations for imperialism and agreement for intervention is the supreme challenge to every lover of peace.¹

¹ So inadequate do I feel this article, that if the editors will permit, I cite certain important authorities. The *Hearings on the Ladd Resolution*, February 25, 26, 1925, a government document, are very valuable. So is *Dollar Diplomacy*, by Nearing and Freeman. An unusually important discussion of impe-

rialism and intervention is contained in addresses by Professor Barnes, Mr. Robert Dunn and Doctors Knight and Jenks in *New Tactics of Social Conflict*, published by the League for Industrial Democracy, 70 Fifth Ave., New York. And Carleton Hayes's *Essays on Nationalism* are also invaluable.

These Sovereign United States

FRANCIS P. MILLER

A SOVEREIGN state is theoretically one which reserves the right to act as both prosecuting attorney and judge in conflicts which arise between it and other states, and which asserts an exclusive control over its own affairs. This means the refusal to recognize the existence of a "public good" more authoritative and inclusive than any one state, and the denial that the individual has any existence outside of his own state.

The logic of such a theory is obvious. It leads to the concept of a world divided up into nation-tight compartments. Each compartment is occupied by a patriot who admits no obligation to cooperate in an organized way with his neighbors; who gets from each all he can, keeps what he gets, relies on force as the ultimate sanction of right, and hopes to ameliorate his growing unpopularity by occasional acts of spontaneous generosity intended to convince the others that he is a pretty good fellow after all.

There is nothing new about the theory of the sovereign state. It may be new as an idea but not as an assertion of right. There have always been groups that have thought of themselves as sovereign. It was sovereign Abraham who gave chase to the four kings and defeated them—one sheik against so many. It was sovereign Athens which preferred to risk the liberties of all the Greeks, its own included, rather than forego one jot of its own sovereignty. There was a sovereign Mackintosh before a sovereign Scotland, a sovereign Florence before a sovereign Italy, and for a brief moment in the seventeen eighties a sovereign Virginia before a sovereign America. It was left to the nineteenth century to mark the culmination of the sovereign nation-state ending in Germany 1914 and the United States 1919.

The idea of sovereign as applied to the nation-state is a notion of the last three or four centuries. To appraise its value one must view it against a background of political evolution in which it represents a phase—important but passing. At each stage in the evolution that group has been called sovereign which was able to maintain itself as the unit within which men were conscious of a "common weal" binding them together and which recognized some sort of common judicial procedure as one expression of the will of that "common weal." It is apparent that the significance of the nation-state as sovereign cannot be estimated apart from a recognition of the ephemeral character of sovereignty as applied to successively assimilated political entities.

The factors that enter into determining the size of the group called sovereign in any one period are an inextricable complex of race, language, facilities for transport and inter-communication, traditions, industrial development, geographical conditions, raw materials, religion, and political sagacity. Whatever the determining factors may be, if the history of mankind means anything at all it means

that there is an irresistible impulse in man's nature to extend the area within which he can come to terms with the other fellow by due process of law rather than by cutting off his head. And there seems to be considerable justification for supposing that an impulse which has been strong enough to bring us out of the patriarchal group through the clan on to the nation-state will be strong enough to carry us on out of the sovereign nation-state into a world society.

But it is just at this point that our pleasing and apparently incontrovertible logic breaks down with the arrival of the United States at full consciousness of sovereignty. America's foreign policy since the inauguration of President Harding has sprung from this consciousness. It is the mood of the people, and to Washington that means the will of God.¹

IN June, 1922, the ambassador of the United States to the Court of St. James stood before a distinguished British audience at Oxford and completed a eulogy upon the sacredness of nationalism with an abrupt and harsh peroration, half boast, half threat to the rest of the world—"America first!" Meanwhile hundreds of thousands of school children stand at attention every morning before the national emblem and hymn its spangled stars. It is the cult of the National Being. That is the nearest approach to a service of worship that most of these children will ever know. It isn't any longer a question of God or Caesar, for in the schools Uncle Sam is two in one.

There are undoubtedly members of the present Administration who are perfectly well aware that the idea of an absolute Sovereign State is a fiction in the modern world, and that every time the Senate confirms a treaty some sovereignty is delegated. Further, the public opinion of the other fifteen-sixteenths of the world has to be placated occasionally if one is to keep customers. Hence some loose talk once about a society of nations (no longer mentioned), then an altogether admirable naval disarmament conference and finally cautious moves toward the World Court. Where America's vital interests are not at stake there is a wavering toward liberalism, but where they are at stake the rigid logic of our sovereignty functions automatically. The League was rejected, the Japanese were excluded, and if we enter the Court it will be on conditions intended to insure our having a final "say" which if accepted by the other signatories of the Protocol may imperil the integrity of the Court itself. The Divine Right of Kings was the basis of the old sovereignty; the Dollar Right of Republicans the basis of the new. And who can say which is more sinister for the peace of the world?

Most governments have become aware that the life of the modern world cannot be so compartmented—that

¹ As reported by the New York World of Oct. 16, President Coolidge said on the previous day: "A true election representing the untrammelled expression of their will is the voice which speaks with divine authority."

a sovereign state is unrealizable in fact and vicious in theory—and that the highest good of each nation is no longer attainable apart from recognizing the common interests of humanity as a sanction more sacred than the particularistic interests of any one state. This does not involve the denial of all sovereignty but it does involve the delegation of some sovereignty. Such willingness to delegate represents a higher degree of political intelligence. It issues from a realization that the interflow of life between nations is increasing in volume and feeds a pool of complex interests which it is impossible to regard as the perquisite of any single nation; and that consequently the good of all will be better served in the long run by a pool of sovereignties to correspond with the pool of interests.

It is to the eternal credit of the European states (regardless of whether or not economic necessity was the determining factor) that they understood the significance of Mr. Wilson's proposals, and have gone far toward actualizing them in their international relations. Conditions were more favorable there than here for growing out of the sovereign nation-state period. The waning glories of an industrial age had evoked from economists and philosophers the idea of a pluralistic as contrasted with a monistic state; and the failure of war either to assert sovereignty or secure justice made the European public receptive to the idea of an international agency for political co-operation.

However, the United States (once the pressure of war was removed) relapsed into a more primitive world outlook and refused to admit that the facts of life demanded a revision of its concept of a sovereign state. And who but a fool would allow himself to desire such revision? For has the world ever known before such amazing prosperity throughout an entire continent? And is this not due to our peculiar national virtues while the poverty of the other nations is due to their peculiar vices? The obvious need is not for scepticism but for a sanitary cordon to protect the virtues and exclude the vices. The idea of these Sovereign United States is such a cordon.

The proof of these national virtues is our high standard of living. To protect that any means are legitimate. Hence collect the debts from our European allies, but prevent them from paying by maintaining the highest practicable tariff. Hence keep out the Japanese but convert Japan into a market. Hence an American Federation of Labor which serves as the bulwark of our national economic self-interest by limiting its ideal to a dream of a benevolent capitalistic system on whose bounties it may batten and by giving consolation to the militarists.

IT requires something more than even a theory of the sovereign state to justify such a world outlook. But that outlook does not have to be justified. It is the accepted creed of the majority of the American people. The voice of America is developing a decided middle western tone and middle western majorities on election day know no greater prophet than the prophet Decatur.²

² Stephen Decatur said: "Our country! In her intercourse with foreign nations may she always be in the right; but our country, right or wrong."

The other civilized nations have associated themselves together on the assumption that the public good of all the nations is greater than the private good of any one nation. When the life of the world has reached a point where the continuance of civilization depends upon transition from the idea of a Sovereign State to the idea of Sovereign Humanity, any state which refuses to cooperate in that transition thereby assumes for itself the rôle of an outlaw among the nations and exists as a standing menace to the security of the rest of the world. The richer the nation the greater the menace.

Within half a century America will be more inextricably bound up with the economic welfare of the whole world than any other nation. The idea of the Sovereign State which is at present the determining factor in her foreign policy is equivalent to a declaration that she looks to War and not to Law as the final arbiter of her destiny. Should this concept continue to determine policy, the other nations may well regard the United States with apprehension as the potential enemy rather than the friend of their liberties and their peace. A good which persists beyond its time may prove to be the worst of evils.

No Talk of Brotherly Love

Europeans do not like us. Italy hates us because we exclude her immigrants. The British call us "Uncle Shylock." Kipling, enriched by the American sales of his books, taunts us in rather feeble verse. The French will never forgive us for saving them.

The cause of this hatred of the United States is not important. The important thing is that everyone hates us and watches greedily for a chance to get at us. French and British pretend to hate us on the theory that the World War was our war, and that, because France and Great Britain became embroiled with Germany over a situation fostered by political intrigue for generations, it was our duty to come to their aid at once. They have twisted history and come to believe, not that we did them a service by saving them from Germany, but that we did them an injury by not saving them sooner. And they want to get square with us for the injury.

The time for discussing the right or wrong of the foreign attitude toward America is past. Only the fact that we are universally hated, counts.

This is not the time for pacifists to have any voice in the government of this country. With all our neighbors looking for a chance to break into our melon patch, carry off the fruit, and trample the vines, it is time to train a couple of bulldogs and load the shotgun, and not to talk of brotherly love toward those who hate and spitefully use us.—*Liberty*, Oct. 16, 1926. Editorial: *No one loves us; but why go into the garden and eat worms?*

Those Perilous Debts

KIRBY PAGE

THE most bitter and menacing international disputes of post-war days have centered in reparations and debts. As a result of the Dawes agreement the reparations question is quiescent for the moment, although there is a strong probability that drastic changes will yet have to be made in some of its provisions. The inter-allied debt problem, however, is steadily becoming more volcanic and now constitutes the most formidable of all barriers to friendship and cooperation between the United States and the nations of Europe.

Officials of this country view the Debt question from the standpoint of *legality*, while most Allied peoples approach it from the angle of *morality*. The latter maintain that we have no moral right to compel payment, whatever may be the legal aspects of the case. They say that they were waging humanity's battle against a common enemy, that they bore the brunt of the fighting and impoverished themselves in the undertaking, that we were slow to understand the nature of the struggle and late to enter the conflict, that our losses in men and money were not comparable with their own, that the funds which we loaned them were spent in America for munitions, food and other articles necessary to the continuance of the war and activities incident to demobilization, and that we quit before the task was finished and refused to enter the League or to ratify the treaty of mutual assistance with France and Great Britain.

While many persons in Europe and the United States have revised their opinions concerning the sole or unique guilt of Germany, the vast proportion of Allied peoples are still passionately convinced that they were victims of an aggressive attack and were fighting not only in defense of country but of humanity as well. Whether or not this is a valid contention makes very little difference so long as they think it is sound.

THEN there is the question of their actual ability to meet the heavy payments required by the funding agreements. Space is not available for a detailed discussion of this very intricate problem, upon which the experts do not agree. Everywhere there is general agreement, however, upon two important points: large sums of money can be permanently transferred from one country to another in only one way, that is in the form of goods, and, second, the payment of the inter-allied debts in the form of goods is utterly impossible as long as we maintain a high tariff. Thus, we seem unwilling to receive payment in the only form possible where such stupendous sums are involved. Many of the best qualified students of this problem are saying that even in terms of dollars and cents we cannot afford to collect these debts.

Still further complications arise because of the direct relationship, in the opinion of many Europeans, between debts and reparations. The Allies have had a tragic awakening on the question of reparations. Once they confidently expected to collect thirty-two billion dollars from Germany.

Now they are wondering if the provisions of the Dawes plan, which will at best bring in about ten billions, can be fulfilled. The heavy German payments are just beginning and this at a time of serious industrial depression, with two million Germans unemployed. The French are therefore insisting upon "safeguarding" clauses in their funding agreement with us. Whatever may be the technical or legal points at issue, in actuality reparations and debts are indissolubly connected.

Under all the existing circumstances for our government to refuse to enter into further negotiations concerning the debts and to refuse to consider debts and reparations jointly seems to me to be a calamitous procedure. Already the feeling of suspicion and bitterness against us in Europe has reached a menacing intensity. And we are only at the beginning of this danger. The heavy payments of the funding agreements are to continue for sixty-two years. Does any intelligent person believe that poverty-stricken peoples will continue for two generations crushing payments that they regard as having no moral validity?

WHAT needs to be done? My own opinion is that our government should be willing to participate without reservations in an international conference called for the purpose of examining all phases of the reparations-debt problem and that it should be prepared to take whatever course of action is advisable, even if it means even more drastic reductions in the debts or complete cancellation of reparations and debts.

A question instantly arises concerning the wisdom of cancellation of debts except on the basis of specific conditions, such as disarmament and the abandonment of militaristic and imperialistic enterprises. As strong as is my opposition to armaments and exploitation, I am convinced that needed reforms in Europe cannot be achieved by pressure or threats from the United States. The people of France, for example, are in no mood to be dictated to by outsiders, especially not by this country. They are afraid that their freedom of action has already been limited by the terms of the Morgan loan and they are exceedingly sensitive on the point of changing their policies because of pressure from this side of the ocean. This feeling is responsible for the recent passionate outburst from Clemenceau that France will never consent to terms which would enslave her. The militarism and imperialism of France both rest primarily on fear, fear of invasion and fear of being unable to secure raw materials, customers, or conscripts, unless she has colonies.

The way to bring about desired reforms is not by dictation but by participating in the task of creating and strengthening international agencies that will make possible the peaceful settlement of the political and economic disputes that arise between nations.

The policy of isolation and stubborn insistence upon the collection of legal debts is fraught with ominous peril to international understanding, friendship and cooperation.

The League of Nations Moves Ahead

What Has Been Accomplished at Geneva

JAMES G. McDONALD

"Geneva, September 10, 1926.—Arrived the morning Germany took her seat. Very moving event. The barnlike Salle de la Reformation packed to suffocation. The President of the Assembly, the first delegate from Yugoslavia, welcomed the German delegates in a brief but cordial address. Already the crime of Sarajevo seemed many decades in the past. Stresemann as he mounted the tribune was pale with nervousness—the other German representatives were scarlet with excitement. The German Foreign Minister, speaking in German, outlined Germany's hopes from the League and pledged to it his Government's cordial support.

"Briand spoke without notes, every string of human emotion—tears on the faces of the most hardened diplomats. When he cried, *'C'est fini—c'est fini,'* and stretched out his hands to Stresemann, a great shudder went over the Assembly as if an Evil Spirit had been exorcised and had taken flight.

"To have experienced this only a few days after I had seen for the first time the Armistice inscription near Compiègne—it is a miracle that eight years after, such an event could take place. The League has justified itself in providing a possible rostrum for such a reconciliation. To read the Armistice inscription in great clear-cut letters on that block of granite in the sunny clearing of the forest—

Ici
Succomba
Le criminel orgueil de
L'Empire Allemande

VAINCU

Par les peuples libres qu'il prétendait assoupir

In eight years they have learned that their fates are interwoven—they must stand or fall together. It was a great moment—it gives hope—and faith—'the substance of things hoped for.' Germany is in everything. All efforts are made to put her in the center of everything."

THIS extract from the diary of one of the American visitors at the Seventh Assembly of the League is a very inadequate description of the impressiveness of Germany's admission. The universal feeling was that at last the League had come into its own and had contributed mightily towards the reestablishment of real peace. With Germany in, the charge that the League was but a continuation in a veiled form of the war-time alliances falls to the ground. Now for the first time the League is in a position to begin to grapple effectively with that mass of irritating and sometimes dangerous complications incident to the peace treaties. Geneva, the scene of the dramatic reconciliation of September 10, now will have the opportunity to work out the details of the post-war readjustments which alone can justify the high hopes of that day.

The entrance of Germany automatically brought into effect the Locarno Treaties. Germany has now formally pledged herself never to attempt to alter her frontiers by war. Instead, she and France agree that they will endeavor to settle by peaceful means every dispute, no matter what its nature, which may arise between them in the future. The Council

of the League of Nations and the Permanent Court of International Justice are made the tribunals of last resort. In a somewhat less thoroughgoing manner, Germany and her interested neighbors, Poland and Czechoslovakia, committed themselves to the peaceful solution of their differences. The Rhineland is demilitarized in perpetuity. Great Britain and Italy pledging themselves to aid Germany in the event of unprovoked aggression by France, just as they agree to defend France against a similar attack from the Reich.

THIS network of commitments against war became effective only when Germany entered the League. It is conceivable, but not sure, that they might have been worked out without the League. In any case they would have been greatly delayed. Moreover, in order that they might be executed, something very like the League would probably have been created. Locarno, then, though not technically the creation of the League, is intimately associated with it, and the finest product of the system of which the League is the essential foundation. Similarly the far-reaching program of Thoiry was intimately tied up with Geneva. Stresemann's proposals would go far towards removing the major causes of differences between France and Germany. He suggested that a portion of the German reparation bonds be commercialized, the proceeds to be made immediately available to France to help her stabilize the franc and balance her budget. In return he asked:

1. The withdrawal of the Inter-Allied Military Control Commission from Germany.
2. The early return of the Saar Valley;
3. The hastening of the allied evacuation of the Rhineland;
4. France's consent to Belgium's sale of Eupen and Malmédy.

With Germany out of the League, Briand could not have considered these proposals. But with the Reich bound by the obligations of the Covenant and France's chances of security increased by the guarantees of Locarno, he was able to give an encouraging response.

ANY survey of the work of the League, no matter how brief, must touch upon at least the following phases: (1) political activities; (2) administrative work; (3) mandates; (4) humanitarian labors; (5) disarmament; (6) economic and financial problems; and finally (7) the League as a forum and a habit.

(1) The political activities of the League have mostly taken the form of attempts at formal or informal mediation by the Council. A notable example of successful mediation by the Council was the Mosul affair. This is particularly significant as an illustration because it shows the Council utilizing one of its favorite methods of avoiding a deadlock and of initiating a settlement through a solution of a part

of the problem. The dispute between Britain and Turkey over the northern boundary of Iraq, long drawn out, seemed at times to endanger the peace. Unable in the first instance to secure unanimity of opinion the Council referred certain technical points to the Permanent Court of International Justice for an advisory opinion. The Court's opinions received, the Council then proceeded to render a decision. Some time later, after the British had made some additional minor concessions, the Turks accepted the Council's award.

More and more, now that Germany is in the Council, it ought to increase its prestige as an always available and representative Board of Conciliation. In this capacity the Council has found invaluable its right to ask advisory opinions of the World Court. It is not surprising, therefore, that the Senate's reservations to the United States' adherence to the Court should have been met by counter-reservations on behalf of the other signatories of the Court, to the effect that the American terms can be accepted only if they are interpreted in such a way as not to interfere with the Council's easy and frequent access to the Court. Much as the United States' support was desired, it was not to be purchased at the price of cramping the Council's work as an effective mediator.

(2) The administrative activities of the League are illustrated by the free city of Dantzic and the Saar. In the first of these there has been little cause for complaint, but in the other, the coal region, a different story must be told. By the terms of the peace treaty the Saar coal mines went to France, the territory itself to be administered until 1935 by an international Commission to be named by the League, at the end of which time a plebiscite would be held to determine whether the region went back to Germany, became a part of France, or continued under League control. Here was a great opportunity for the League to set an ideal neutral administration. It did not do so. From the beginning French personnel and French influence dominated the Commission. Only slowly and not yet completely has this French control been eliminated. However, at no time was the administration guilty of grave abuses. Now the German residents admit that in the essentials all of their complaints have been satisfied. Also the League, sensitive to the wide criticism it has received, has learned a lesson which ought to help the cause of international administration everywhere.

(3) No part of the League's work has been so criticised and so defended as its supervision of the Mandates. Some of the criticism is unquestionably justified, but much has been due to an exaggerated interpretation of the League's power. Undoubtedly in Syria the French had grievously violated the spirit and the letter of the Covenant. Though members of the League's Mandate Commission have been very frank in their criticism of French actions, the Commission as a whole has not gone so far as its authority would seem to justify in working for a radical reform of the worst abuses. Elsewhere, too, there have been frequent criticisms of lack of adequate checking up by the League authorities. But it is very unfair not to remember that the Mandate idea was the only practical alternative at Paris to annexation. Though as a system it has unquestionably broken down in places, in others it has amply justified the hopes of its creators. As the League grows in authority it will have a better opportunity to enforce the ideal of the Covenant—"the

development of such (backward) peoples forms a sacred trust of civilization."

(4) The humanitarian work of the League has been so frequently described that a mere reference to it here should be sufficient. Such unquestionably brilliant and successful efforts as those of Dr. Nansen on behalf of the Russians and Greeks need no comment. But the League's attack on the international drug evil is another story. Here the League's efforts have been sharply criticized as inadequate and sometimes even as in effect harmful. A fairer judgment seems to be that, struggling with an evil whose ramifications are world wide and for the solution of which there is as yet no accepted technique, the League has made more than a worthwhile beginning and has set up machinery which promises gradually to eliminate the worst forms of the traffic.

Few people realize that slavery in varying forms still exists in many parts of Africa. The last Assembly of the League passed a draft treaty intended (1) "To prevent and suppress the slave trade." (2) "To bring about, progressively and as soon as possible, the complete abolition of slavery in all its forms." (3) To put an end to the practice "progressively and as soon as possible" of forced labor "for other than public purposes." The Convention has already been signed by twenty states, including Portugal and Abyssinia, the two countries most concerned. While the evils are worse in Abyssinia and the Portuguese territories, none of the European States with African possessions are wholly free from tolerating serious abuses. The draft treaty is obviously a timid and weak proposal and reflects little credit either on Lord Cecil who reported it to the Assembly or on the countries whose opposition made a drastic agreement impossible.

(5) The problems of disarmament in different forms have constantly been before the League since the first Assembly. Unfortunately the concrete results to date have been slight. It is true that in a sense the Locarno agreements borrowed important ideas from the League's earlier disarmament discussions. In other ways, too, it has been indirectly helpful. But one must frankly admit that no tangible limitation of armaments comparable to that achieved at the Washington Conference can be credited to the League.

This is not because of the weakness of the League, but because of the inherent difficulties in reducing world armament, especially in view of the political situation left by the war and the peace treaties. The months-long discussions of the experts during last summer and this fall in the Preparatory Committee on Disarmament have seen too many critical and futile hair-splittings. None the less they have made evident what should have been much more generally understood, the fundamental difference of interpretation between France and her allies, on the one hand, and Great Britain and the United States on the other. The French would consider as comparable with armaments all of those resources, men, money, raw materials, which in the course of a few months could enormously enlarge the effective fighting force of a country; whereas the British and we are inclined to insist that in measuring the armaments of a state only the actual fighting forces and materials should be included. Logically, the French are right; practically, their interpretation would seem to make any kind of armament

limitation impossible. In any event, these conflicting points of view illustrate one of the reasons why the League has not been more successful.

The Seventh Assembly did pass a resolution urging the calling of a World Disarmament Conference before September 1927 "unless material difficulties prevent." Whether this Conference, if held, will be successful, only time can tell. Certainly the League has already illustrated the great advantage of having a continuing body which year after year can follow a consistent line of study. If the proposed conference should result in substantial reduction, the League would be the natural organ to follow up that advantage. In this way would be avoided the chief defect of the Washington Conference which met but once, dissolved, and left no continuing body authorized to interpret the agreements, check up their enforcement, and to propose further steps.

(6) In the economic and financial fields the League's three most important ventures have all been a hundred percent successful. Austria, after three years of League supervision, is again financially solvent and on the road towards industrial recovery. The League High Commissioner, Dr. Zimmerman, withdrew only a few months ago. Hungary even more quickly regained financial stability and economic soundness under the magic supervision of another of the League's High Commissioners, Jerry Smith. In Greece more than half of the 800,000 impoverished and homeless refugees from Asia Minor have been established on the land, in industries and in business. Here, too, a League plan, League auspices and League officials have shown how fruitful international cooperative effort can be. Ambassador Morgenthau, the first Chairman of the Refugee Commission, and Mr. Charles P. Howland who succeeded him, have, like

Jerry Smith, shown what Americans can do freed from the trammels of petty partisan politics. Sir Arthur Salter, the brilliant head of the League's economic and financial section, deserves the highest praise for the almost uncanny foresight which enabled him to block out the programs for all three of these great enterprises. His brilliant and original work illustrates the unique value of the League Secretariat—that highly expert international civil service devoted zealously to the common interests of mankind.

(7) More significant than all of these technical activities is the place the League has made for itself as a unique forum for world public opinion and as the habit it has become of frank and informal discussion of international problems of all sorts. The Assembly each year gives an opportunity previously unknown for the small states as well as the large to voice their aspirations or their protests against abuses. The Chinese representatives' seizure of the occasion of the last Assembly to launch a vigorous protest against the British bombardment of Wan-hsien which resulted in the death of hundreds of Chinese, is only the latest example. More and more the small and weak states come to look upon the Assembly as their most important bulwark against the aggressions of the strong. Incidentally, too, the Assemblies make an excellent sounding board for outstanding liberal leaders who, in the old diplomacy, would never have had a real opportunity to appeal to the conscience of the world.

The League as a habit, as an example of the new diplomacy, has already achieved much and holds vast possibilities. Secret diplomacy of the sinister sort is not dead. Secret treaties and military alliances are still being made. But the League habit is more than holding its own. It offers a distracted world the best hope of avoiding a recurrence of the debacle of 1914.

The Inevitable League

RAYMOND B. FOSDICK

ON a single day in April, 1922, the New York wholesale market received, among other supplies of the kind, 800 crates of honey-dew melons from South Africa, 4,000 crates of vegetables and a shipment of lima beans from Cuba, 10,000 packages of vegetables and 1,700 barrels of potatoes from Bermuda, 4,000 crates of onions from Chile, and 18,000 bags of onions from Egypt. In 1924, the United States imported 7,000,000 pounds of butter from Denmark, 4,000,000 pounds from New Zealand, and 3,000,000 pounds each from Argentina and Canada.

Items like these, appearing casually on the market pages of our newspapers, drive home the fact, so little understood, that we are living in an utterly new world. Our grandfathers did not import butter or vegetables. What butter they used they made themselves, and their vegetables were home grown. But the world in which we live, thanks to the contributions of modern science, is a world of specialized and dependent parts knit together in a common unity.

It is this new element of propinquity in modern civilization, this new integration of human life, that has long made the League of Nations an inevitable development. If the

nations of the world are to live on each others doorsteps, if they must rely on each other for the sheer means of existence, then we must have some centralized mechanism, some established procedure, by which we can determine the rules of the game. Geneva was foreshadowed from the day that Robert Fulton ran his steamboat, the "Clermont," up the Hudson River, and George Stephenson induced the projectors of the Stockton and Darlington Railroad to substitute steam for horses. There were many causes for the failure of the Holy Alliance to which the nations of Europe signed their names in 1815; perhaps the most compelling was the fact that there was no real reason for the Alliance. There were no railroads, no automobiles, no airplanes, no steamships, no cable lines, to draw the world together in a welter of tangled relationships. The Holy Alliance began merely as an emotion. It ended because it had nothing legitimate to do.

THE League of Nations was born of sheer necessity. If the catastrophe of 1914 had not brought it into existence, sooner or later it would have come by other means. It sprang from that definite sense of the interdependence of modern

nations, which was growing before the War and which was sharpened into keen anxiety by that tragic experience. It is the logical outcome of the mechanical development of the nineteenth century, the natural next-step in the political evolution of our time. It did not come into being unheralded and unsung. For fifty years, the technique of international cooperation in the achievement of certain common ends has been slowly building as science has accelerated the progress of integration. The International Postal Union of 1863, the Universal Telegraphic Union of 1865, the Wireless Telegraphic Union of 1906, are monuments to the capacity and willingness of nations to gather together for discussion and conference and handle certain joint responsibilities on a partnership basis.

But the spasmodic character of such conferences, held to deal with specific questions, has greatly limited their usefulness. They have had to be initiated by a particular power after protracted diplomatic exchanges, and months and sometimes years have elapsed between the summons and the meeting. Moreover, these *ad hoc* conferences have not always been able to create the necessary interim machinery to carry forward on a satisfactory basis the proposals or conclusions which they have reached. Special bodies like the Postal Union and the International Institute of Agriculture have often been established, but there has been no organic relationship between them, and no plan or order in their development. These odd bits of machinery, scattered among the capitals of the world, have been left to represent as best they could the effectiveness of the race in dealing with modern international problems.

The technique of the League of Nations is a long step forward in efficiency. It is infinitely better adapted to the growing needs of the world than the haphazard system that prevailed before 1914. It represents a method of continuous international conference. It is a process by which nations can get together at any time to discuss any problem of international bearing. It provides not only for the centralization and coordination of international machinery, but for its orderly and systematic development.

ONE who is doubtful about the operation and effectiveness of this new technique should visit Geneva. There he could see for himself that with all its frailties and imperfections the League is as certainly and securely an international fact as aviation or any other means of promoting a wider intercourse. There he could walk through the rooms of the Secretariat building where international groups and committees are meeting to consider a great variety of matters of intimate concern to the whole human race. In these groups are gathered the representatives of forty or more nations, each contributing his point of view to the common discussion. Italians are talking across the table to Greeks and Yugo-Slavs; Englishmen and Chileans and Chinese are working out the details of some new understanding; Austrians and Danes and Siamese and Cubans are arguing the merits of a proposed convention—and adjourning for dinner at the end of the day to continue the discussion over a friendly board.

There has never been anything like it in history. All sorts of subjects of international interest have been up—not necessarily for settlement, for the League is not a cure-all for human difficulties—but for discussion. And these discussions

have brought together in conference the experts of fifty-six nations. For international life has reached a stage where its technical problems can be met only by technical scientific study. Questions like the transportation of hydro-electric power across boundary lines, or the financial rehabilitation of Austria and Hungary, or the double taxation of foreigners, cannot be settled by the amiable resolutions of diplomatic representatives. They require the best brains obtainable, and it is in its capacity to mobilize these brains on difficult technical international problems that the League has made a distinct contribution to the better ordering of modern life.

For example, when the League undertook to study the question of the double taxation of foreigners in both their country of origin and of residence, it created a committee consisting of such men as Professor Seligman of Columbia University, Sir Josiah Stamp, Dr. Bruins and Professor Einaudi. The technical committee on communications and transit includes men like Bignami, the Italian engineer; Lankas, the director of railways in Czecho-Slovakia, and Tsang-Ou, the director of the Chinese state railways. On the Committee on Intellectual Cooperation are such well-known men and women as Henri Bergson, Mme. Curie, Gilbert Murray, and Robert Andrews Millikan. Charles P. Howland of New York was brought over to head the work which the League is doing to settle a million refugees on Greek soil; associated with him are some of the ablest engineers and bankers of Europe. Men like Ciraola of Italy, Deschamps of France, Kennedy of England, Nansen of Norway, Nitobe of Japan—and scores of others who in justice should be mentioned in the same list—are working on a dozen different problems which relate, in many of their aspects, not to Spaniards or Englishmen or Swedes, but to human beings, occupying the same planet, fighting the same enemies of disease and hunger, desperately trying to maintain for themselves and their children an ordered life.

AND all this business about double taxation and the settlement of Greek refugees—how does this relate to the one great problem that hangs like the sword of Damocles over the human race: the problem of war? What reason is there to expect that all these miscellaneous meetings and conferences can help to ward off the final cataclysm which, as so many signs indicate, is slowly and inevitably approaching?

The answer to this challenging question is perhaps more obvious than it seems. Geneva is developing the habit of conference and cooperation. In a hundred different ways, through the consideration of all sorts of unrelated but common problems, the nations in the League are learning the technique of teamwork. They are learning what it means to play ball together. Through practice with less important issues, they are beginning slowly to see that when men get together about a table, thorny historic situations and pressing international difficulties often yield more fairly and more sensibly to conciliation and compromise than to nationalistic or obscurantist claims. And the hope of the situation lies right at this point: with this habit of teamwork a little more thoroughly interwoven into the life of the world, with the technique of cooperation a little more completely understood, perhaps when the next great test comes, and another 1914 throws down its ugly challenge to mankind, there will be a better chance for sanity and self-control and a larger hope of escape from a world wreck of untold proportions.

RIDING in an automobile along the Canadian side of the Niagara River, one can visit in a single afternoon four battlefields of the War of 1812: Fort Erie, Chippewa, Lundy's Lane, and Queenstown Heights. With their old gravestones and grass-covered earthworks, they are today places of bewitching beauty, breathing serenity and peace, and alive with the echoes of

"Old, unhappy, far-off things
And battles long ago."

And yet what depths of human folly they represent! Legalized murder of one's own neighbors on behalf of a cause which was incompletely understood and half-heartedly supported! One's mind travels back to the dreary days when a straggling American army was being bulldozed by its officers to invade Canada across the Niagara River. "Honor and glory await you," read the proclamation of the commanding officer. "You will enter a country that is to be one of the United States. . . . Whatever is booty by the usages of war you shall have."¹ But the soldiers were reluctant to move. The Canadians were not their enemies. Why should they carry fire and sword against them? They were willing to defend their own country from invasion, but why attack the country of their neighbors? So there was mutiny and court-martial and executions, and finally "morale was restored" and the army crossed the river on its mission of glory. There followed the scenes of horror that inevitably accompany such invasions. Major MacFarland of the 23rd United States Infantry, who not long after was killed at Lundy's Lane, wrote to his wife as follows:

"The American militia and Indians plundered and burnt everything. The whole population is against us. . . . On the 19th inst.

our militia burnt the village of St. David's, consisting of 30 or 40 houses. This was done within three miles of our camp, and my battalion was sent to cover the retreat. . . . My God, what a service! I never witnessed such a scene."²

Today, as in 1812, the old savage passions are still uncurbed. Now, as then, "national honor" is the cloak of an immorality that has been outlawed in private life, and inflamed and heated prejudice passes for patriotism. Now, as then, we are guided by the emotions of the pack, particularly by its instinct for violence. There is one hope in the world, however, which did not exist in 1812: the League of Nations. Perhaps it is a slender hope. Perhaps we are foolish to believe that it can really help to avert the final and inevitable disaster. Will it be able slowly to develop healthier mental habits through which selfishness and force in the settlement of international disputes can give way to toleration and common council? Can it introduce an international sanity in the use of all the new physical instruments which the last century has created? Can it stimulate enough intelligence in the world to employ these instruments not for destruction but for building up an abundant life for mankind? Only the fool will prophesy. Only the future can tell.

ON the wall of the terrace facing the street in front of the League of Nations building in Geneva, the canton and city of Geneva have placed a tablet. It reads as follows:

A la Mémoire de
Woodrow Wilson
Président des États Unis
Fondateur de la Société des Nations

The meaning of this sentence is too clear to demand translation. Its significance is too obvious to require comment.

Outlawry of War-A Policy of Abolition

JOHN HAYNES HOLMES

FIRST reactions to the Outlawry of War program are almost without exception unfavorable. The plan, on the one hand, is too simple; on the other hand, it is too good to be true. It is a panacea, a trick, a gesture. As a matter of fact, it is none of these things. It seems so only because it opens up a new approach to the peace problem, and thus deals with concepts and ideas with which we are unfamiliar. The difficulty, in other words, is not with the program but with our minds. "We have been thinking," says John Dewey, on this very point, "in terms of 'steps' towards an eventual abolition (of war) by arbitration treaties, conciliation courts, reduction of armaments,—political combinations to enforce peace by coercion—economic reforms to do away with causes of national rivalries, etc." But outlawry cuts right across these familiar ideas. It moves from one plane of thought into another entirely different plane. When we try to follow, our minds, like fish out of water, simply gasp, and then expire.

The new plane is that of law. This is just the reason why most of us, who approach the war question from the standpoint of ethics, or religion, or economics, are unable to follow. We are ignorant of law; and also, as Professor Dewey again points out, "we live in a time of scepticism about law and its efficacy. But the only fundamental condition of the efficacy of any well thought out system of law is that it represents the general moral conviction of the community. Unless the moral sentiment of the world has reached the point of condemning war there is nothing that can be done about it. If it has reached this stage, then that conviction should be crystalized in law. One may of course disbelieve in any and all international law. But if one believes at all in it, he is not asked to believe that law will work miracles. *He is only required to think of the practical differences that will be made when the law makes war a crime instead of legitimizing it.*"

I

IF THERE is any one thing upon which we can agree at the start, it is that "the moral sentiment of the world

¹ General Alexander Smyth. See Buffalo Historical Publications, Vol. XVIII, p. 227.

² Quoted from "The Siege of Fort Erie," by Louis L. Babcock, p. 20.

has reached the point of condemning war." This condemnation began centuries ago in the prophetic vision of the saints and seers. What was there discerned imparted itself with growing clearness through the ages to the conscience of the race. At last came the Great War as a kind of final judgment of experience. There we saw a phenomenon essentially vicious in origin, even brutal in method, destructive and demoralizing in result. The glory, if there was any, had departed. War succeeded all at once to the place formerly occupied by chattel slavery as "the sum of all villainies." We agree now with Kant that it is a form of "cannibalism," with Voltaire that it is "murder."

Faced by the challenge of a social practice thus transformed by the moral conviction of mankind into a social evil, there are just two things we can do. They are the same two things to one or other of which man has always had resort in situations of this kind. Both, be it noted, are devices of *law*. Whether we like it or not, it is the legal method, in a society such as ours, by which changes are wrought, reforms accomplished, wickedness assailed and conquered.

(1) Frequently in battles against evil there is despair of really destroying the evil in question. It always has been—what reason is there for believing that it can ever be done away with? Added to this, is unwillingness, conscious or unconscious, to destroy the evil altogether. It is sanctified by sentiment, glorified by tradition, interwoven with personal habit and social practice, sustained by group opinion, bulwarked by profits produced through economic exploitation; it contains some good, after all! In such case, men answer the challenge of evil by the process of *regulation*. Unable or unwilling to destroy the evil outright, they undertake to control it, and thus to limit the area of its influence, reduce to a minimum its disastrous consequences, and gradually, by strangulation, so to speak, bring about its final and complete extinction.

The attitude of European countries toward the recognized evil of prostitution is an illustration of what I mean. In most of these countries, it has been quite impossible, apparently, for men to conceive of a society without prostitution. This may come some day when human nature has been educated and social relationships organized to a discipline of which we now see but faint shadows of suggestion. Meanwhile, the evil is here; and we can do no wiser thing than to take hold of it and regulate it, so that it may do as much good and as little ill as possible. So we find in most of Europe that prostitution is legalized. Houses of ill-fame are licensed and confined to a definitely segregated district; the health of inmates is officially examined and certified; the methods of the business are rigidly defined. Prostitution is thus taken right *inside the law*, and made a recognized, protected and established *institution*. Regulation in such cases may be defined as the institutionalization of evil by due process of law.

This method of answering the challenge of evil, however, has its defects. It is pretty evident, for one thing, that regulation does not regulate. In the case of prostitution, for example, the vicious and degrading practice is constantly overflowing the segregated areas; the dikes

don't hold! When the Rockefeller Commission made its famous investigation of prostitution in Europe, it discovered nothing more manifest than the fact that regulation had everywhere broken down. All familiar evils were present, with the added evil of the protection of law and the sanction of public opinion. The two weapons most potent in the battle against social wrong were here snatched from the arsenal and thrown away.

But regulation not only fails; it deserves to fail. At bottom it is a concession to evil, and at last a surrender to evil. Granted that social control accomplishes certain practical good which was otherwise unattainable, it still remains true that this good is undone a thousand times by the viciousness of the practice of making terms with sin. For what we get the price is all too high. It is a price paid in terms of dignity, of self-respect, of essential decency and honor, for what, after all, is only a reward of expediency. The whole thing is made evident by this problem of prostitution. Degradation runs through it all—degradation of the women who practice it, of the men who indulge in it, of the physicians and police who protect it, of the state which sanctions it, of the citizenry generally who tolerate it. Prostitution is a cancer. No cauterizing or disinfecting of it will do at all. It must be cut out, if we would live.

(2) This brings us to the second method of meeting social evil—the method, namely, of *abolition*. Like regulation, this method is strictly legal in character; due process of law is invoked. But whereas regulation uses the law to control and thus, despite itself, to preserve the evil, abolition uses the law to fight and thus in the end to destroy it. Regulation, in other words, is indirect; abolition direct. Regulation receives the evil into the domain of law, and organizes for its protection the sanction of society; abolition casts the evil out of the domain of law, and thus organizes for its annihilation the enmity of society. Regulation institutionalizes the evil, and thus makes it as legal as marriage, corporations, or the state itself; abolition de-institutionalizes the evils and thus outlaws it along with murder, forgery and theft. The judgment of conscience is made a decree of law. A wrong is translated into a crime.

It is this second method of handling a social evil which may be said to be typically American. Prostitution, long since recognized and described as *the* social evil, as though there were none other, is our perfect illustration. Regulation of this practice, legalization of it as an institution, has practically disappeared in this country. We have tried it here and there, and want no more of it. We know it doesn't work; and even if it did, we couldn't see it work with peace of mind! We have taken up the fight against this abomination, therefore, straight and to the finish. We are resolved to end it by outlawing it. So spoke the Rockefeller Commission, in the great Flexner Report, after long investigation throughout Europe. Rejecting regulation utterly, it called for abolition by law as the one method of fighting prostitution. "Be the outlook for its extermination . . . good or bad, favorable or unfavorable, at the very least the whole weight of the State's power and influence . . . must be thrown against it—"The law must be a

teacher' in so far at least as it embodies an expression of what ought to be."

II

TURNING now to war, as the crowning evil of our time, we encounter both these methods of dealing with the problem.

(1) In the past men have uniformly dealt with war, as so often they have dealt with prostitution, by the method of regulation. The reasons are roughly the same in both cases. From primitive man to S. Parkes Cadman, it has been agreed that war is "a melancholy necessity," and therefore impossible to get rid of. Out of this agreement has come an international law which "assumes," says Theodore S. Woolsey, "that there must be wars and fighting among nations." By reason of long custom, furthermore, war has taken on a tradition of glory which has made it precious to men's eyes. Out of this has grown the conviction, more popular before 1914 than since, that war fosters the more virile qualities of manhood, puts iron into the blood of a race, and thus brings along spiritual good to compensate for its physical evils. But these evils are great—increasingly great as population has multiplied, society developed, and science wrought its miracles of power. So man has been unwilling to leave war alone; on the contrary, from earliest times, he has sought to regulate war—to "crib, cabin and confine" it—so that its evils may be as small as possible. Then, too, there has always been cherished the hope by ardent souls, especially in these latter years, that regulation may steadily develop into repression, and war be at last extinguished as final evidence of the triumph of civilization over barbarism.

The result has been, and is, the institutionalization of war. Central to any understanding of the peace problem, is this fact that war is an institution definitely established by the law of nations as the final means of adjudication, the court of last resort, in the settlement of international disputes. International law is not the codification of laws *against* war, as so many of us naively suppose, but the codification of laws *of* war. "International law," says President Woolsey again, "endeavors to lay down rules by which (wars) shall be brought within the limits of justice and humanity." Man has never tried, in other words, to stop war at all. Taking war for granted, as a natural process like digestion or reproduction, he has sought simply to regulate it to the end of a maximum of good and a minimum of evil. All our so-called peace measures have been measures of regulation—nothing more! We have tried to push war off, to delay its coming, by establishing alliances, balances of power, arbitration agreements, and Hague Courts. We have tried to limit the area of war through diplomacy, treaty arrangements, and laws of neutrality. We have tried to soften the rigors of war, by defining the conditions under which it shall be fought, especially by abolishing weapons and belligerent practices of a peculiarly abhorrent character. All of which means that we have taken war right into the domain of law, and set it up as a legalized and therefore protected institution! Charles Sumner saw this in 1845, when he said, "It is not uncommon to speak of the practice of war, or the

custom of war. I prefer to characterize it as an institution established by the Commonwealth of Nations as the Arbiter of Justice. As slavery is an institution—sanctioned, defined and established by Municipal Law, so war is an institution—sanctioned, defined and established by the Law of Nations."

Only recently—since the Great War, in fact!—have men waked up, and seen the weaknesses inherent in any such scheme of legal control. As with other social evils, so with war, regulation does not regulate, control does not suppress. There would seem to be no need of argument on this point after the experience of 1914-1918. Nothing that the world had done up to that date availed either to stop war when it threatened to break loose, or to control the nature of the operations of war when it had once started upon its destructive way. Nor will anything that the world has done since the War avail either to stop or control "the next war" when it appears.

Take the League of Nations, for example. Let us concede that the League is admirably conceived and sincerely administered within the limitations of the existing system of international affairs—a system which, as we have shown, legalizes, sanctifies, and thus institutionalizes war. But it is these very limitations which doom the League to failure in the long run as an agency of enduring peace. By the very necessities of the case, the League of Nations is at most and best a part of the existing order for declaring and making war. As such it is able, and as a matter of fact pretends, to do nothing more than exercise final control upon an evil the existence of which is taken for granted. Its unique achievement, if it actually prove to be such, is the transfer of the war-making power from the several nations of the world to itself as a central body. "The original design (of the League)," says the *New York Times* of September 17th, last, "is that of a round table for the Great Powers in whose hands lies the decision of world war or peace." It is not contemplated, in other words, that war shall go, but only that it shall be drastically regulated from the centre, as prostitution, for example, is regulated from police headquarters. But this is war, not peace!

As the very sanctions of the League's power are ultimately those of arms, so the sanction of world order through the League is ultimately that of force. Reliance upon such sanction is logical enough, we agree, when it comes from those who believe in the war system. But "it sounds strangely," says Prof. Dewey, "at the mouths of those who believe in the substitution of international cooperation for international antagonism. They plead for the abolition of war," he continues, "and for its retention as a means of coercion." Regulation, in other words, does not regulate. Recognition of an evil as a means of getting rid of the evil simply perpetuates the evil. Representing a sound and necessary principle of order in the international field, the League of Nations can operate for peace only as a part of an already existing system of peace. At present the League is a wheel on the chariot of war, and of course it moves, however sluggishly, to the battlefield. Hang the same wheel on the truck of peace, and it will whirl to quite another destination.

But objection to regulation goes deeper than this! There is a growing conviction among men that war is not only evil but *wholly* evil, and therefore, like pitch, should not be touched at all lest it defile. We are in revolt against war today all along the line from the soldier to the pacifist. We want to get rid of it root and branch. We want to denounce war as a crime in society, as we have already denounced it as a sin in our minds. Hasn't the time come, in other words, for men to do with war what they have learned to do with other evils—crystallize moral sentiment into law, and end it?

(2) This means the substitution of *abolition* for regulation, the American for the European method of handling war. More specifically this means the Outlawry of War! What men have done with infanticide, polygamy, prostitution, piracy, slavery, duelling, it is now proposed shall be done with war—and in the same way! It shall be abolished, *outlawed* by legal fiat. The Outlawry program provides four things:

- (1) that international law shall be rewritten, or recodified, in terms of peace instead of war, thus making peace and not war our "institution."
- (2) that war shall definitely be outlawed as a crime under the law of nations;
- (3) that a world court, clothed with inherent and affirmative powers of jurisdiction, shall be established to settle disputes hitherto settled by the dread arbitrament of arms; and
- (4) that universal disarmament shall follow on Outlawry by joint agreement among the nations.

III

THIS is simple. So simple that most men laugh at it when they first hear of it! Get rid of war by passing a law against it? they say. Don't you know that war isn't made by law and therefore can't be abolished by law? War may legally be an institution, but humanly it is a social phenomenon deep-rooted in psychological and sociological causes, and until these causes are removed, nothing can be done. You may wave a magic wand of peace against it, if you wish. But so Lord Glendower could "call spirits from the vasty deep." Any man could "call" them! But, as Hotspur pointed out, "will they come when you do call for them?"

To this familiar charge, half serious, half ironical, I submit, briefly, three answers:

(1) As a hard, cold matter of fact, this Outlawry method is precisely the method which has invariably been used by organized society for the conquest of social evils. If successful against polygamy, slavery, duelling, why not against war? These other evils were also social phenomena; they also had deep-rooted causes. The same causes that operated to produce polygamy and duelling, are operating today; they have not been removed. Yet these institutions have disappeared! And how, if not because society has decreed and enforced an order of Outlawry?

(2) Granted that Outlawry will not destroy all war, everywhere, upon the instant! It will organize the first effective attack against it, and thus bring its abolition

within sight. In a memorial addressed to President Coolidge in the spring of 1925 by a committee urging a disarmament conference which should include in its agenda the consideration of Outlawry, the signatories¹ wisely said, "We look for no miracle. Laws against felonious assault and murder have not changed human nature or put an end to acts of violence and slaying. But no civilized people could contemplate without horror the abrogation of the laws that forbid them. So we hope there will be accorded the tribute of the ages to the laws against wholesale destruction and murder which the wisdom of our generation will give to mankind in the outlawry of war."

(3) Lastly, in all discussion of causes, there is fatal confusion between the causes of war and the causes of the disputes that are settled by war. War no more has "causes" in itself than the U. S. Supreme Court has "causes." Disputes between nations that come to war for settlement, like disputes between states that come to the Court for settlement, have "causes." But there is no more reason why these disputes should be settled by war in the one case than in the other. Assuming that disputes will long continue between nations, Outlawry simply proposes that these disputes shall be settled by law rather than by war, or, in any event, not be settled by war. Just because the causes of disputes, and therefore the disputes themselves, will long be with us, we urge the more strenuously the substitution of the court for the battlefield, lest society be destroyed and civilization ended.

IV

OUTLAWRY, we profoundly believe, is the way out. We ask, with John Dewey, "What else can be effectually relied upon?" We proclaim with Senator Borah, "Is it not time to lay the ax at the root of the tree, to recognize war no longer as legitimate, to declare nations and men criminals who engage in this super-crime? It is the moral and educational and legal foundation upon which all plans and schemes and hopes of peace must rest."



Newcomers

—Byron H. Jackson, Jr

¹ Cardinal Hayes, General O'Ryan, Dr. S. Parkes Cadman, Judge Florence Allen, Bishop McDowell, Bishop Brent, Dr. Fosdick, and others.

An Interim Policy for Peace

JAMES T. SHOTWELL

ARTICLES in the daily press have recently been stating that the question of the membership of the United States in the World Court is now as dead as that of our entry into the League of Nations. This was intended to mean that both these apparent possibilities of five years ago are now to be dismissed permanently from the outlook of American foreign affairs. Such news items, some of which seem to be authoritative statements, will come like a blow to many of those who have been working so hard during these years to secure American cooperation in both Court and League. But even if the narrative is accurate so far as it deals with the past and present, there is no reason whatever for our admitting its accuracy as to the forecast for the future. This is no time for even temporary discouragement. Courage is only of value when it is an act of faith in defiance of apparent obstacles. Fixity of purpose in the hour of trial is the true test of the individual or the nation. It is inconceivable that with such ideals as are embodied in the movement for world peace, there should be even momentary doubt as to the ultimate triumph of our cause.

When we turn from the far horizons to the immediate tasks of to-day and to-morrow there is enough to do to keep our minds from any useless regrets about the past. In addition to the obvious need for a satisfactory solution of the questions of membership in the League and the World Court, there are still other things to do, if we wish to adjust our foreign policy toward the furtherance of international peace.

FIRST of all there is naturally the need of exercising constant vigilance with reference to the incidents of our international relations. No matter what institutions we erect or enter, no matter what doctrines or principles may determine our general attitude, the real test of the "will to peace" lies in the concrete relationships of our country with others. Changing almost from day to day as these relations do, they bear the strain of bad will and good; and in them rather than in the assertion of general doctrines lie the materials for peace and the active causes of war.

But while these matters call for constant scrutiny and intelligent criticism, the private citizen must upon the whole leave the details of foreign affairs to the organs of government which have been created especially to deal with such matters. There is nothing to be gained by reducing the mechanism of international relations to anarchic impotence by constant interference. Representative government, even in foreign affairs, does not imply that foreign offices should be stripped of power, or governments rendered unable to meet exigencies with rapidity and decision. It means rather that these attributes of government must be subject to adequate control and made accountable to an intelligent and informed electorate.

This still leaves the private citizen a vast responsibility. For some of the worst things in our own foreign relations in recent times have been done against the better judgment of the government itself, in answer to popular clamor. There is at least as much danger to the world's peace in the irresponsible jingoism of the private citizen as there is in the much abused secret diplomacy. The trained diplomat of to-day is much more likely to be cautious, than those who do not know—or care—how foreign nations may regard our point of view. The ultimate safety in dealing with this aspect of foreign affairs, the daily current of business and other contacts, lies in the education of democracy itself.

HERE, then, there is work to do: both immediate, in intelligent and informed criticism of foreign policies; and indirect, in the field of education. But, apart from all these matters, it should be possible to develop a general policy, strictly consonant with American interests as well as its ideals, which would not evoke the disturbing memories of the controversies over the League and Court, and yet would give this country a real share in the greatest of liberating revolutions in human history,—that which is to free the civilized world from the curse of international war. If there is nothing more real in our foreign policy looking toward the elimination of war than our half-hearted and quasi-external participation in the great experiment of the League and Court, we shall indeed fall far short of our responsibilities. Is there nothing that can be done to adjust our policies along the lines that make for pacific settlement of international relations. No matter what institutions we erect I should like to suggest one or two things that might be made the basis of an interim policy.

First of all, we should readjust and reaffirm the policies involved in the Bryan treaties. We have at present over twenty such treaties which are supposed to be in force, binding us not to go to war with the co-signatories, at least until after a commission of impartial investigators should have had time to report upon the points at issue. The Bryan treaties do not undertake to stop the disputants from ultimately going to war, nor do they bind them to compulsory arbitration of the dispute. They merely interpose a fact-finding process and by the delay incurred prevent, or seek to prevent, the impulsive and emotional explosion of national feeling, which tends to make war inevitable. At the time the Bryan treaties were consummated this was all that could be obtained in the line of negotiation between sovereign states. *Since the war, however, a movement has developed, in which this country has not participated, by which many other nations bind themselves to go considerably further than the Bryan treaties.* They establish something more than Commissions of Inquiry. Instead, the new treaties provide for Commissions of Conciliation, whose reports are not merely

fact-finding but are to contain recommendations for proposed solutions as well.

THIS movement for the establishment of conciliation between the European nations now embraces almost all the nations of the continent and more besides. Germany has made such treaties with all its neighbors; France and even Fascist Italy have gone far beyond the United States in the formal agreements with even potential and historic enemies, binding the participants to accept the mediating action of an outside body, using conciliation where diplomacy fails, and thus removing the menace of war from the most dangerous of questions.

This movement has grown so rapidly that now a vast network of treaties of conciliation has come into operation, smaller nations eagerly signing with the great; and a new era in international relations has quietly begun, carrying on the spirit of the Covenant of the League of Nations outside the framework of that organization.

It may be that this growth of conciliation treaties is at least as important a bulwark against war as the creation of a Hague tribunal, for the disputes with which the conciliation bodies have to deal are those in which lie the natural seeds of war. Few of the wars of history arose from justiciable questions or even from those which may be settled by arbitration. The conciliation commissions are created to deal with just these war-breeding matters of dispute and are able to do so owing to the fact that they are not called upon in any way to insure or enforce the carrying out of their recommendations. Their action is like that of a mediating body whose suggestions are to be taken as a friendly act. They do not limit the freedom of action of the States which are signatory to them and thus in no way infringe upon their sovereignty. It is this, in contrast with arbitration treaties, which furnishes their fundamental resemblance to the Bryan treaties.

If we were in the World Court for justiciable issues and readjusted our Bryan treaties to deal with the non-justiciable questions on the basis on conciliation instead of mere inquiry, we should then have done something real towards upbuilding the alternative for war.

MORE important still, however, than the readjustment of the Bryan Treaties into treaties of conciliation, would be a similar reform in treaties of "arbitration," using that term in the broad sense in which it is now used in European and world discussion to cover generally the settlement of disputes by way of international tribunals which have power to deliver binding judgments. The difference between conciliation and arbitration lies just in this fact, that in the case of arbitration the parties are bound to accept the decision; whereas in cases of conciliation the parties are still free to refuse acceptance of a "recommendation" of the conciliating commission. Naturally, nations which are jealous of their sovereign rights are slow to make treaties of compulsory arbitration *but in the acceptance of compulsory arbitration lies the one sure path towards peace.* As has been pointed out so forcibly by General Bliss in the discussions on disarmament, so long as nations refuse to enter into

treaties of this kind, the implication is that they will settle their fundamental problems by force of arms; and whether this implication is right or wrong, their neighbors are justified in arming against the eventualities of such a policy. Disarmament can never be real until we have compulsory arbitration, at least to the extent of indicating that mutual good faith upon the part of nations which would make the outbreak of war a violation of the whole structure of international relations, instead of what it is now,—the accepted attribute of sovereignty and the means by which the sovereign states insure their dealings with each other.

The United States talked much of arbitration in the early days when the term implied nothing more than voluntary arbitration covering a relatively slight field of international relations. In the pre-war days, when nothing more than this seemed possible of realization, America was therefore in the lead. But now, as one may see from a recent publication of the League of Nations, those governments which are within the League have gone ahead in the acceptance of compulsory arbitration almost as far as they have in the treaties of conciliation. We are now as much behind in this arbitration covering a relatively slight field of international relations. In the pre-war days, when nothing more than this seemed possible of realization, America was therefore regarded as we are with reference to the acceptance of the League and the Hague Court. The treaty which we made with Sweden, for example, in 1925, reserving from arbitration all questions of vital interest and national honor, reads like a medieval document alongside that which Sweden secured from Germany, its much closer neighbor. There have been many Locarnos in these last two or three years of varying scope, but all of them accepting the obligation to accept the instruments of peaceful settlement of *all* international disputes. The Covenant of the League is being supplemented and strengthened by all of these bi-lateral agreements which tend to fuse into a single expression that great movement of enlightenment and justice which is just beginning to transform our ancient and hitherto barbarous world.

FINALLY, there is one further point in an interim program. Aggressive war is now to be treated as a crime by the international law of Europe through the action of the League and these treaties of peace. If any of the signatories to these documents brands itself as the self-confessed aggressor by going to war in violation of its own commitment to take the case to court or any other pertinent tribunal, then this country should not so interpret its rights of neutrality as to allow through private trade the shipment of American supplies to that nation which violates its own word and the peace of nations which rests upon such applied faith. We should have a restatement of the obligations of neutrality by which our Executive would be free to proclaim that, when such a case arises, America would not be drawn into the position of becoming an accomplice with the criminal. As things stand now, that is where we should be in case of war between parties to a Locarno pact. Whatever else we do, this restatement of neutrality in terms of peace instead of war is the minimum interim program.



A Window on the Street

Another Study in Values

Valentino and President Eliot.

Queen Marie and Eugene Debs.

Queen Marie, of course in buoyant health, received in the comparatively unsensational *Times* on the day of her arrival 322¾ inches of adulation. Gene Debs, reported dying, received a scant 2¾ inches.

Debs,—whose illness, physicians say, was largely attributable to his imprisonment during the War for statements the general truth of which no student of standing will now deny. Debs,—the conscience of a people, calmly pitting rationality against the madness of his fellow-countrymen. Debs,—working ceaselessly for the freedom of the toiling masses from industrial autocracy, but never yielding to the lure of violence as the means to win desired ends. Debs,—a human, making human errors now and then; but steadfast, unswerving, faithful to his vision, unbitter in defeat. Debs,—so personalizing love as to shame the many who, from platform and from pulpit, heaped invective on him in the very name, sometimes, of love's great Teacher.

And the score in ratio is: for Queen Marie, 117; for Gene Debs, 1.

The Queen—Here and at Home

What is the significance, in terms of a once robust democracy, of the almost hysterical kowtowing before the living symbols of a system supposed to be abhorrent to us,—a system which brought on the revolt out of which was wrought our national being? Will someone kindly page the D. A. R.?

No one, of course, would wish to be discourteous to a representative of another people. But the Roumanian people, their press reveals, are not enthusiastic in the least.

Would the American public be so headlong in enthusiasm if it knew more facts about the government of Roumania? "We certainly have made our country larger," said the Queen in New York City. "God was very good to us. . . ." Roumania is a land of seventeen million people, a land more than doubled in size in recent years and so swollen by the fortunes of war that the outer portions of its territory seethe with rebellious nationalities. In the West are some two million Magyars hopeful of reunion with their first-loved Hungary. In the East, along the Black Sea, lies the richly agricultural Dobrudja, a heavy percentage of whose inhabi-

tants are Bulgarian by birth and inclination. To the North-east is Bessarabia, one of the numerous Balkan "Alsace-Lorraines," the official status of which is by no means clearly settled in the minds of other Powers, and with a large number of Ukrainian inhabitants of whose leanings toward the Soviets there can be little question. What more natural than that a reactionary government, bulwarked by a vicious nobility, would employ the customary tactics of such governments and seek "unity" by intimidation? Minorities are held in subjection by censorship and force. In few places are workers used more harshly when they aim at the advancement of their status or strive for political emancipation. Not only has the government been active against Communists plotting revolution but against, for example, the General Council of the National Trade Union Center, a body which has been accused by the Communists of establishing alliances with the country's rulers. In short, here is a government which, though not avowedly a dictatorship, rules by the iron hand in the good old medieval tradition.

That government's funds are low, despite the Queen's pearl diadem and her many trunks piled high with gorgeous dresses. The *leu*, normally valued at 19.3 cents, is worth today but .54 of a cent. Roumania has borrowed heavily from Italy, England, and France, and a good deal of this money has gone directly into armaments; the country's active army numbers 225,000, with organized reserves estimated at 600,000. Since 1921, Roumania has been trying to obtain loans from the United States, and it appears from the financial pages of the press that soon after the Queen returns to her native land, the Roumanian government will offer a bond issue to the American people amounting to something between \$25,000,000 and \$50,000,000. And what so necessary, if the money is to be forthcoming, as an advertising campaign of the first magnitude? So here it is. Bruce Barton himself could not have done a tenth as well.

Secret War Pacts Once Again

Friends and critics of the League alike must share concern for the future when fresh evidence accumulates of secret agreements, alliances, and balance of power compacts, worked out not for peace but for war, not within the League in the open, but outside it in the dark. How many of these agreements have been made in recent years nobody knows; but that they still proceed with an ominous frequency cannot be doubted. When the Locarno Treaties failed of fulfillment last spring, Germany and Russia negotiated an above-

WORTH WHILE PLAYS

board treaty compatible with the treaties of Locarno. France, however, impatient of delay, untrusting still of security through the instruments of peace, continued to build up the network of agreements she had been arranging among the border states of Germany and Russia. And in the unfortunate interim between the failure of the spring and the success of the autumn, Poland and Roumania, with France in the role of a third party, effected a secret treaty fraught with more possible danger to Europe than one can readily imagine. It specifically names four countries as potential enemies: Russia, Germany, Bulgaria and Hungary. A program is mapped out for every war contingency, and provision is made for the transport of troops and war materials from Poland to Roumania and *vice versa*. France obligates herself to supply in equal proportions with Poland, poison-gas, aviation equipment, and personnel. Well may the ordinarily unflurried *Manchester Guardian* say: "Of the four possible enemies named, three are fellow-members of the League of Nations, one a fellow-member of the Council, and statesmen of Warsaw and Bucharest calmly envisage the likelihood of a sudden attack being made by any or all of them. * * * It is, in fact, a virtual denial of the League as a force in European politics."

The Convention for the Supervision of Traffic in Arms signed by eighteen nations in June of 1925 contained an article (29) exempting in large measure Poland, Roumania, and certain other "buffer states" from the requirements for publication of data regarding arms transports, "until the accession of Russia to the present Convention." Thus the way was left clear for such secret developments as have followed.

The chief danger to the League lies not in the natural disagreements that develop frankly within it, but in the commitments which are made *sub rosa* by its members on the side. Secret diplomacy is by no means dead; it still presents a danger that can hardly be exaggerated.

Detroit and Margate

Those aspects of the A. F. of L. Convention which excited the most comment, while important in the extreme, have served to draw attention from some deeper-lying matters in respect to labor policy. Both at Detroit and at Margate, where the British Labor Party has been meeting, a fear of Communism was evident; in both places, Communists received severe rebuffs. The A. F. of L., however, still refuses even to send a commission of inquiry to Soviet Russia, whereas the report of the British Trade Union Delegation is still one of the most enlightening documents on the state of affairs in the country about which there is everywhere such wide divergence of opinion. More seriously yet, the A. F. of L. persists in stressing wages, hours, and conditions, and still envisages society in terms of permanent classes; it aspires apparently, to the gradual rise of labor to the larger profit-making estate of capitalists. The British Labor Party, on the contrary, looks at society in terms of the whole, gazing ahead to the removal of class privileges, planning, though without violence, a wholesale reconstruction of society. Open to criticism as the latter's policies may often be, whether from the Right or the Left, there is a basic difference between this view and that of Mr. Green and his cohorts in this country, —a difference which means more to the future than may be immediately apparent.

DEVERE ALLEN.

THE long-awaited native opera, *Deep River*, written by Laurence Stalings and Frank Harling (the composer of *The Light from Saint Agnes* so enthusiastically acclaimed last year) is an exceptionally beautiful production. A romantic tragedy, played against the background of the colorful New Orleans of 1835, it has many opportunities for dramatic and lyric beauty. Three gallant Kentuckians come to the quadrone ball to compete there against the Creole gentry for the love of the languid, lovely *Muette*. A duel at dawn under the fragrant oleanders settles the rivalry. The play is finely wrought, skilfully avoiding the bogs of sentimentality (its gracious and interesting music succeeds in this too) and achieving a beauty that is restrained and yet splendid. There are some notably good voices singing in *Deep River*, and the acting—usually as absent, in opera, as the snows of yesteryear—is exceptionally good throughout.

The Captive, Edouard Bourdet's *La Prisonnière*, adapted by Arthur Hornblow, Jr., is in spite of its ugly theme a moving, if not thoroughly convincing, tragedy of Lesbian obsession. With its sensational theme the play is adroit in avoiding the sensational. The all-pervading sense of utter doom is its finest achievement. It is finely produced, with Basil Rathbone and Arthur Wontner contributing excellent performances in their roles. Helen Menken's *Irène de Montcel* is a very *fleur du mal*; one wonders, however, if she has not missed the point a little with the extremely pale, alabaster mask she makes of her face.

Laurence Irving's dramatic version of Dostoevsky's *Crime and Punishment*, called *The Humble*, is given an excellent production, with very good players, at the Greenwich Village Theatre. This compact, stirring drama of the Czarist Russia of 1866 is very relevant to our own day; its criticism of society remains vital and sure; the torture of the suffering *Rodion* will be contemporary as long as the "third degree" persists in police technique. It is, I think, one of the greatest plays we shall see this year, and one is grateful for Basil Sydney's fine interpretation, the best of his career, as *Rodion* the student.

The Theatre Guild have ushered in their year with Franz Werfel's *Juarez and Maximilian*, quite different but no less interesting than that author's memorable *Goat Song*. The play deals with the brief and tragic "reign" of Maximilian of Austria in Mexico as the tool of Napoleon III and French financiers. Maximilian is a romantic hero in the play, a symbol of the liberal idealist hopelessly caught between the millstones of capitalist demand and intriguing politicians. The Church force in the play makes it particularly up-to-date in view of the conflict between President Calles and the Church power today. *Juarez and Maximilian* is a great event in the theatre, a superb tragedy of social and anti-social forces. The production is worthy of the Theatre Guild's fine tradition, and so is the acting interpretation, as one might expect from a cast including Alfred Lunt, Dudley Digges, Clare Eames, Albert Bruning, Edward Robinson, Arnold Daly, and Margalo Gillmore. Alfred Lunt makes of *Maximilian* a sublime character; if not quite exact historically, it is uncannily clear and fine of the man as symbol.

Black Boy has little except the personality and acting of Paul Robeson to recommend it—which of course, is a great deal. The material of the play is very good indeed; but there are too many hokum lines; outside of its central character, which is well written and better played, it aims at tragedy and becomes bathetic.

The Lion Tamer at the Neighborhood is Savoir's amusing farce-comedy conflict between a doctrinaire, miscalled "idealist," and a lion-tamer Mussolini. It is witty, but of no particular significance; it demands comment here because the "idealist" may impress the unthoughtful as authentic. Labiche's *The Straw Hat* is an exhilarating musical farce, imaginative and joyous; it is captivating entertainment, and will enjoy a place in the American Laboratory Theatre's repertory program.

COLEY B. TAYLOR

Not in the Headlines

AGNES A. SHARP

Filipino Freedom Conference

A conference for Filipino independence has been called for December 17-19, in Washington, D. C. All interested organizations are being invited to attend. Moorfield Storey, former president of the American Bar Association, Clarence Darrow, Albert F. Coyle, Phil E. Zeigler, Professor Robert Morse Lovett, and others have endorsed the call to the conference.

Orphans and Military Training

Major Ernest Engle of the Army, retired, has been stationed at the Children's Village (an orphanage at Dobbs Ferry) in full charge of military training for boys over twelve years of age.

Military Training in Schools and Colleges

The American Legion in session last week in Philadelphia adopted the report of the Military Affairs Committee. One paragraph of this is significant to World Tomorrow readers:

"Believing that teaching of national defense to the youth of the Nation is the highest patriotism, the American Legion stands resolutely for military training in high schools, colleges and universities, and pledges itself actively to oppose those pacifists, radicals, communists and others who are endeavoring in every possible way to stop such training."

Brookwood Labor College

Eighteen industries are represented by the students at Brookwood Labor College, which opened for its sixth year on October 13th:—painters, garment workers, miners, stenographers, upholstery weavers, hosiery knitters, railway carmen, bakers, tailors, machinists, electricians, cap makers, printers, clerks, plumbers, and taxi drivers. They come from California, Oregon, from Wyoming and Colorado, Delaware and Maryland, Illinois and Minnesota, Kentucky and Texas, Massachusetts, Pennsylvania and New York. There is one from England and another from Canada.

Mexican Federation of Labor

The Mexican Federation of Labor, known generally as the Crom from the initial letters of its title in Spanish, now counts a membership of approximately two million industrial and foreign workers, according to a recent release of the Mexican News Service. Membership embraces twenty-two hundred industrial unions and about twenty-seven hundred rural organizations.

Convict Labor

The Jefferson County, Alabama, Grand Jury, after scoring the warden for cruelties culminating in the murder of a prisoner said: "Disclosures have been substantially verified and are conclusive to our minds that coal mines operated with convict labor by the State furnish too many opportunities to indulge in the most inhuman and brutal forms of punishment by officials toward convicts, and among the convicts themselves; and that its value as an instrument of reformation, which should be the main object of all legal punishments, is so small as to be negligible."

American Coal and the British Strike

Three and one half million tons of American mined coal have been shipped to British ports since the coal strike began. Soft coal was not exported to England until this year, and it is the American coal, together with four and one half million tons of continental coal, that has broken the British strike.

More About Coal

The American Association for Labor Legislation in a recent release states "coal mine disasters due to coal dust explosions, such as the one at Rockwood, Tennessee, Monday, October 4th, in which 29 miners were entombed, are preventable by the simple and inexpensive safety device of sprinkling the underground workings with rock dust. * * * Thus far in 1926, 11 coal mine explosions in the United States have killed a total of 277 miners. The rock dusting safeguard has recently been endorsed by a safety committee of the American Engineering Standards Committee. It has been approved by the United States Bureau of Mines and the Mine Inspectors' Institute of America. Over 160 substantial coal companies have now equipped their mines with rock dust, a safeguard which costs less than one cent a ton of coal mined. Since October 1 the associated companies are refusing to carry workers' accident compensation insurances on any gaseous or dusty bituminous mine which is not rock dusted to standard. The legislatures of most of the bituminous States are soon to be in session. Why should any State delay until it is visited by another great catastrophe before adopting this effective remedy?"

At Home and Abroad

The United States Government protects the lives and investments of its citizens abroad but not at home. Our Federal government does not call upon our States to avenge lynchings or other murders, nor does it protect its citizens from loan and land sharks unless they use the mails to defraud. It does not even frown upon the system under which thousands are deprived of their savings so long as the operations are within the pale, and the pale is pretty far out. It will not permit the publicity that would limit high finance; it does not prohibit the watering of stock or selling short. But if Mexico interferes with our investments, our Government will send the United States army to compel the "greasers" to adopt civilized capitalistic methods of government.

Of the Florida Disaster We Still Know Little

Dr. Worth M. Tippy, Secretary to the Commission of Social Service of the Federal Council of Churches, who was sent to the devastated area of Florida, reports that the workers were the most seriously hit group in the Florida hurricane. He says "Twenty thousand homes were entirely wrecked, mostly the flimsy structures in which the workers lived. The total dead will never be known. They are somewhere between 500 and 1,000, possibly more."

The National Association for the Advancement of Colored People announces receipt of a letter from Everett Sanders, Secretary to President Coolidge, stating that the President has directed the Attorney-General to investigate reports of virtual peonage enforced against Negroes only, in the district of Miami, after the recent disastrous storm. Press despatches from Miami report that State troopers, deputy sheriffs and police were sent to round up all Negroes of working age and to put them to work clearing debris in all parts of this county. If true, this constitutes involuntary servitude for colored residents of that county.

Oncomers

A Page For Future World Citizens



Wendell Phillips: Pioneer of Freedom

A YOUNG lawyer was sitting by the open window of his offices on a Boston side street, on a beautiful October afternoon in the year 1835. Suddenly, beneath the window, he heard angry cries and looking out, he saw a crowd rushing about in great excitement in front of a building which had a sign on it, "Anti-Slavery." Shouldering his way through the mob, the young man found that four or five thousand persons, for the most part well dressed and not a bit like the average street crowd, were trying to storm a flight of narrow stairs that led to the "Anti-Slavery" offices. As he watched, the crowd came running out, dragging with them a bare-headed man with a rope around his waist. As soon as the crowd saw the man, they shouted angrily, waved their fists in his face and rushed him along to the City Hall, crying that they were going to lynch their prisoner, who did not show a single sign of fear.

The young lawyer was Wendell Phillips, and the man who would have been lynched by the crowd, had not the Mayor of Boston come to his rescue, was William Lloyd Garrison. From that time on, these two, as different in bringing up and inheritance as you could well imagine, were to work shoulder to shoulder for one of the greatest causes that has ever enlisted the sympathies of real Americans—the freeing of the black slaves.

Although the names of Phillips and Garrison do not appear as often in our history books as those of generals and politicians and financiers, these two, and the group that gathered around them, did more to make America really "the home of the free," as we are fond of calling it, than any number of military heroes.

If there was ever a man who was destined to spend his life in the most exclusive and snobbish circles of America's most exclusive and snobbish city—the city of Boston of some generations ago—that man was Wendell Phillips. But it so happened that from the day when Phillips saw the brave Garrison being dragged off by a mob, he gave all he had to the cause for which Garrison was standing,—to the great distress of his friends and relatives. He gave himself up to the cause of the "underdog"—the black slave in the cotton fields of the South, the white slave in the factories of the North.

HIS first great test came soon after the attempt to lynch Garrison. Out in Alton, Illinois, on November 7, 1837, a crowd of sympathizers with the slave holders in the South had brutally murdered the Rev. Elijah P. Lovejoy, a minister who had protested in his newspaper against the lynching of a Negro.

Some of the more progressive and liberal citizens of Boston had called a mass meeting in Faneuil Hall to protest against the murder.

Headed by James T. Austin, Attorney General of Massachusetts, a crowd of thugs tried to break up the meeting. Austin jumped up on the platform and defended the mob's action in killing Lovejoy. His friends in the audience cheered him wildly and it looked for a moment as though the meeting would be broken up in a riot. Then, out of the crowd, came Wendell Phillips, who had had no intention of speaking when he entered the Hall, but was roused to a high pitch of indignation by the tactics of Austin and his followers. Phillips, who was only 26 years old at the time, made a speech so full of fire and righteous vigor, that those who heard it ever afterwards stated that it was one of the greatest pieces of oratory delivered in this country. He made a most stirring appeal for freedom of speech and assembly, and when he was through, Austin was nowhere and Phillips had won his first great victory.

FROM then on, Phillips went up and down through the country, pleading for the cause of the slave. And when at length the Civil War had come and the slave was freed, Phillips, though an old man by that time, was not done with his fight for freedom for the oppressed of the land. He ran for Governor of Massachusetts at the head of one of the first parties to be formed by working men and women, he spoke for the Irish who were being oppressed by the British empire, he even dared to defend the Nihilists of Russia, who were the "Bolsheviks" of their day. Wherever one man or one nation oppressed another, there was Wendell Phillips to lift his voice on behalf of freedom.

Time after time, his life was threatened by hostile mobs. Time after time, his friends urged him not to go on the platform to speak. He was avoided on the streets by those with whom he had been brought up, he was exiled from "Boston Society," he was denounced by the papers as an anarchist and an enemy of the Government. But Phillips always went serenely on his way, caring nothing for what was said about him so long as he felt in his heart that his cause was a just one. When he died, in 1884, there passed away one of the gentlest and bravest spirits to which America has ever given birth.

McALISTER COLEMAN.

NOTE: Pioneer Youth of America asks us to say that the verse on this page last month was not written as stated by them, but instead adapted by Anna Abramsky.



Building Tomorrow's World

Overcoming Evil with Good in International Affairs

"GOD help Britain if the empire must be defended by the ethics of the Sermon on the Mount," cried a Member of Parliament in the heat of a debate on disarmament. This is merely one more illustration of the profound cynicism which everywhere prevails concerning the practicability of the religion of Jesus in international affairs.

Many years ago Benjamin Kidd pointed out that Western civilization is based on violence. In group relations the ethics of Jesus have usually been rejected. Most Europeans and Americans believe that the idea of overcoming evil with good is utterly impracticable. And so they fall back ultimately upon force and violence as the only effective means of restraining wrongdoers. For this reason they spend enormous sums of money upon armaments and consent to conscription of men.

Evidence of the failure and futility of group violence, however, is accumulating rapidly. Consider for a moment the lessons of the World War. Competent historians are agreed that responsibility for the war must be divided between Germany, Austria and their allies on the one hand, and Russia, France and their allies on the other, and that commercial rivalry and international anarchy were the primary causes of the conflict. The present condition of Europe is conclusive proof of the futility of armaments as means of achieving material prosperity or political security. The failure of the policy of violence on the part of the Allies in the collection of the war indemnity from Germany is also apparent. French soldiers could wreck the industries of the Ruhr and cause indescribable human misery but they could not dig coal with bayonets or even compel the German workers to do effective labor in the mines. The Bolsheviks are likewise receiving a rude awakening. They seized control of the government by violence and have since maintained themselves in power partly by intimidation and terrorization but they cannot compel Russian peasants to produce sufficient grain for export. The Red Army and the secret police are utterly useless as means of increasing agricultural production. Since the inauguration of the New Economic Policy by Lenin in 1921, the communists have retreated steadily before the non-violent, but all the more effective, pressure of the peasants. Guns and bayonets and bombs are powerful instruments of destruction but are poor tools for mining coal, producing wheat, securing trade or main-

taining national security. Peace and prosperity and justice cannot be secured by force or threats of violence. It is supreme folly to continue building Western civilization upon such an unstable foundation.

Since mass violence is so ineffective and futile, is there any possible way to secure adequate protection against national wrongdoers? Can national security and international justice be maintained by peaceful processes? Is the religion of Jesus practicable in world affairs? Of one thing at least we can be sure, namely, before evil can be overcome with good in international relations certain conditions must be met. Let us briefly examine these conditions.

1. *The creation of a new sense of national honor is essential to the preservation of world peace.* In the international realm we are still in the duelling stage. An insult to our flag by another nation stirs the passions of war. People scarcely ever stop to ask: is our country really dishonored by what others say about us or by having our national symbol treated disrespectfully? Citizens of Indiana do not feel called upon to use shotguns against Ohioans who slander their state. If a native of California is killed in Oregon, there is no demand for an armed march upon the latter state. Yet the refusal on the part of Mexico, for example, to apologize for an alleged insult to our national honor and to salute our flag is regarded as a sufficient cause for war by a large proportion of our population. The abandonment of this conception of national honor is as essential to international peace and justice as was the repudiation of the prevailing idea of individual honor in duelling days was necessary to local peace. The time has come when it should be universally recognized that the only way a nation can really be dishonored is by acting dishonorably.

2. *Drastic changes in the present conception of national sovereignty are likewise essential to permanent peace.* It is widely assumed that a nation is an ultimate political unit and has the right to select its own policies and determine its own course of action. We are told repeatedly that national sovereignty must be preserved at any cost. Yet it is obvious that if each nation is absolutely sovereign a condition of international anarchy is thereby created. Anarchy is the absence of government and due process of law. When chieftains were sovereign anarchy prevailed between tribes. Likewise when walled cities or feudal states were sovereign, the

result was anarchy between independent units. It is equally true that international anarchy will prevail so long as each of sixty nations is regarded as a sovereign power. Anarchy usually leads to chaos and violence.

I am not suggesting the policy of imposing a super-government upon the respective nations. Such an attempt would be fatal. What is required in the present world situation is the voluntary renunciation of arbitrary national rights in favor of cooperative international decisions. A precedent is found in the action of the thirteen American colonies when they formed the Federal Union. Previously they had regarded themselves as sovereign states. In adhering to the Union they renounced certain rights and agreed thereafter to determine certain policies in consultation with the other states and to abide by the common decision. All powers not specifically delegated to the Union were reserved by the states. This is precisely the step required at the moment if international peace is to be preserved. Matters that vitally affect many nations cannot safely be left to arbitrary national action. Cooperative decisions are imperatively needed. Yet the tenacity with which peoples hold to the idea of national sovereignty is barring the way to effective cooperation between nations.

3. *The creation of permanent and comprehensive international machinery is necessary to the peaceable settlement of disputes between nations.* The relations between our various states have been, with a single tragic exception, uniformly friendly and peaceful, for the reason that the founders of the Federal Union were wise enough to create appropriate agencies for the settlement of inter-state disputes. The need for international agencies is equally apparent and even more urgent. Three kinds of agencies are required: A permanent channel through which representatives of the respective nations of the world may regularly and continuously confer together concerning common problems and through which agreements may be reached; an international administrative body through which these agreements may be executed; and an international tribunal to interpret the meaning of agreements and settle legal disputes between nations. The problems now threatening the peace of the world are so numerous and complex that they cannot be dealt with adequately by temporary and intermittent conferences. This three-fold permanent process is absolutely essential.

The real question before us is this: how can we secure the necessary machinery? My own opinion is that it is utterly futile to expect the creation of perfect agencies at the moment, and that the wise thing to do is to begin with what is at hand and seek diligently to improve and strengthen existing agencies. For this reason I am an ardent supporter of the World Court and the League of Nations, in spite of the serious limitations and grave dangers which I observe in these institutions as constituted at present. It seems to me far more practicable to attempt the reconstruction of these bodies from within than to withhold our support from international processes until a more perfect instrument of expression is available.

4. *The nations must disarm and the institution of war must be outlawed before any reasonable assurance of permanent peace can be achieved.* If individuals had continued to go armed when courts and other agencies of justice were

established, personal quarrels would not have been settled peaceably. If the thirteen states had each continued to maintain an army for use against the others, civil war would probably have become chronic. The very presence of armaments is a prolific source of suspicion, fear and hatred between peoples and a constant provocation to violent hostilities. So long as each nation maintains an army and navy for use against other nations and possesses a legal right to wage war upon the others it is futile to expect permanent friendship and cooperation.

5. *An essential condition of overcoming evil with good in world affairs is the willingness to accept the consequences of reliance upon peaceful agencies and processes.* Absolute security and complete justice are unattainable in an imperfect society. Whatever may be the value of the arguments in favor of the armaments system, it is quite obvious that armies and navies do not guarantee safety or justice. It is likewise true that life and property cannot be completely protected by the instruments of peaceful settlement of international disputes. If evil is to be overcome with good we must be willing, if necessary, to endure insults, loss of property, discomfort and privation, and perhaps temporary limitations of political freedom. Soldiers are required to endure any hardship. Citizens are expected to give their all in times of national danger. The religion of Jesus will be ineffective and impracticable in dealing with international evildoers as long as his followers renounce his tactics in the hour of crisis and danger and take up the weapons of Satan in seeking to cast out Beelzebub.

Self-preservation may appear to be the first law of life for individuals and nations, but this idea cannot be reconciled with the example and teaching of Jesus. If only we had sufficient insight we would understand that the eternal law of life—he that would gain his life shall lose it and he that loses his life shall find it—is as true of nations as of individuals.

Kirby Page

Lullaby Burial

GO back beneath the heavy sleep
On hands and knees, go back and creep
Within the thighs of your dark mother . . .

This is the valley where we lie
Before we live, after we die;
This is the long shade slanted low,
The cool deep culvert where we go
Between two peaks of dizzy light—
This is the night.

Children of men, why do you cry?
Here is the valley, under the sky.
Come in and rest you. By and by,
Whether you sleep or whether you wake
Life will take care, for its own sake.

GENEVIEVE TAGGARD.

Labor Has Words with the Church

HUBERT C. HERRING

REPORTING a convention is a hopeless task. I shall not attempt it. The American Federation of Labor came to Detroit; it saw Mr. Ford's workmen and many other things; it did not conquer.

So much for report.

Now for excursions away from the report.

The Detroit meeting of American Labor was an instrument of revelation. It revealed Detroit. It revealed the church. It revealed labor.

First of all—Detroit. The *fourth* city is no mean city. Buildings rise faster, automobiles rush at more perilous rate, bank clearings soar more imposingly, than in any other city of its class. It is prosperous! Its Board of Commerce admits it. Its building trades association admits it; everyone admits it.

There are other things which Detroit freely admits. It has the loveliest library building and art center in America. It has broad drives and beautiful homes, and good schools, and all of the other accoutrements of greatness. It has a municipally owned street car system which is a model of efficiency and economy.

Other things Detroit does not admit. Detroit breaks the prohibition law riotously and completely, and with scarcely an apology. Detroit is an open town. The recent survey of its vice conditions puts it at the top of the list for its sins.

Detroit, in the language of the Board of Commerce, is an "open-shop" city. The business interests are united in a well organized movement to ostracize the unions. They have been successful.

The "open-shop" drive in Detroit has all the familiar ear marks. The "open-shoppers" have their own tricks of speech, just as have Ku-kluxers and Congregationalists. The "open-shoppers" of Detroit share the congenital enthusiasm for the "American Plan of employment."

When the news of the coming convention of the American Federation of Labor reached Detroit, the defenders of the American Plan sprang to arms. The *Detroit*, official journal of the Board of Commerce, and the *Detroit Saturday Night*, began to bristle. They dragged the sins of union labor out into the limelight. Fortunately for these journals, the building trades of Detroit have been guilty of dubious practices. The Board of Commerce and its associated organizations made the most of it. They released a ceaseless refrain about "stink bombs." Cartoons were published which reveal peaceful homes, with unsuspecting women and children, and outside, agents of union labor preparing to throw their bombs.

The Church then entered the scene.

AT the suggestion of the Social Service Commission of the Federal Council, the Detroit Council of Churches suggested that the ministers of the city invite labor men to speak in their churches on the Sunday falling within the convention period. This has become a custom in connection with the American Federation of Labor Conventions.

There are over 200 Protestant churches in Detroit. Five ministers extended tentative invitations to labor speakers.

In the meantime the Young Men's Christian Association had invited President William Green of the A. F. of L. to speak at its Sunday afternoon meeting.

The defenders of the "open shop" heard the news. They opened fire. The September 18th issue of the *Detroit Saturday Night* carried a first page article directed at the ministers who dared to invite labor speakers to their pulpits. There was also a cartoon, entitled "Introducing Brother Gettem, one of our most active union agents, as the preacher of the day." The cartoon showed a rough citizen of fiendish mien, pounding on an orthodox Protestant pulpit, his coat pocket bulging with an article labelled "stink bomb." The bald-headed gentlemen on the front seat appear somewhat dazed. The article itself called upon the "reverend gentlemen" to study a list of labor outrages. The list is terrifying, and if a quarter of the crimes are justly laid at the door of union labor, constitutes an indictment which all union labor must face. But facts are stubborn in Detroit. The industrial atmosphere is too hot for them.

The September 27th issue of the *Detroit* carried an open letter "to Detroit churchmen." The churchmen are informed that the opening of pulpits to labor speakers is "a part of the program of the American Federation of Labor to make Detroit a closed shop city." As proof, the list of proposed speakers is given, a list which includes the best of the leadership of the American labor movement, as well as the social service secretaries of the Federal Council of Churches, and constituent denominations. The letter warned against these men "who are admittedly attacking our government and our American Plan of employment," and urged all loyal Detroiters and good churchmen to prevent their speaking.

THE campaign was eminently successful. Three out of the five ministers who had extended tentative invitations were overruled by their church boards, and the invitations withdrawn.

The Young Men's Christian Association Board met and cancelled the invitation to President Green. Mr. C. B. Van Dusen, the President of that Board, carried the news to Mr. Green. He made it perfectly clear that financial reasons made the action necessary. The Y. M. C. A. is engaged in a five million dollar building campaign. The money is pledged but not all paid. The pledges are from men hostile to union labor, and there is danger that some might be cancelled.

Mr. Van Dusen is President of the Kresge Company. It operates five and ten cent stores, and is a frank concern. It is not long since they made the frank admission that the average wage for girls in their Detroit store is \$7.50.

When this word was brought to the floor of the A. F. of L. it precipitated a discussion which the board of every church and Y. M. C. A. in the country should have heard. The

church was flayed for its supineness, and the Y. M. C. A. for its cowardice. The comments were not all fair, not all balanced, but there was truth. The Church was accused of being the chaplain of the privileged and the wealthy. The Young Men's Christian Association was accused of being bought and paid for by the reactionary elements of the city.

Organized Christianity did not appear in rosy light that day.

There was no organized protest against the action of the Board of Commerce from the ministers of the city. Two or three spoke out fearlessly.

There was no organized protest from the Council of Churches. Its secretary retreated after the first attack and had nothing to say.

SUCH is the price we pay for institutionalism. Many pastors felt the insult deeply, but kept silence out of loyalty to the church. There were men in the Y. M. C. A. who did not protest because of this same sense of obligation to the institution. It was not cowardice; it was institutional loyalty.

The secretary of the Detroit Council of Churches congratulated himself that there had been no "split in the council." He was right. There was no split, but it was not a unity which justified pride. The occasion called for a split which would make itself heard the country over.

The President of the Council, Lynn Harold Hough, is a minister of many gifts. Five commanding sentences over his signature would have changed the entire complexion of the situation. He said nothing. He did not invite a labor speaker. He did not protest against the Council's supineness. His few words on Sunday afternoon were an inadequate meeting of his responsibility.

Had it not been for Dr. Tippy and Mr. Myers of the Federal Council of Churches, American Protestantism would have made no effective protest.

When the argument was hottest in the A. F. of L. Convention, James Myers, industrial secretary of the Federal Council, was granted the privilege of the floor. He insisted that the action of the Detroit churches and Y. M. C. A. was not representative of the Christian forces of America. He announced that the First Congregational Church had been offered by its pastor, Gains Gleen Atkins, for a mass meeting Sunday afternoon. He invited Mr. Green to speak upon that occasion.

The Sunday afternoon meeting was a dramatic answer to the Detroit Board of Commerce.

The church was crowded. The speakers included representatives of the Federal Council, the denominational social service secretaries, and President William Green.

Dr. Worth M. Tippy of the Federal Council gave a clear-cut and courageous statement. "This meeting," said he, "has been called in honor of William Green and in protest against the indignities to which he and the American Federation of Labor have been subjected. Organized labor has won its right to the unqualified recognition and the respect of the American people, and its leaders entitled to take their places with the other industrial leaders of the nation. . . . This meeting is a protest against the affront the Board of Commerce has offered the churches of Detroit, the Federal Coun-

cil of Churches, and the departments of social service of the denominations affiliated with the Federal Council."

Mr. Green spoke with dignity and fearlessness. "There is no bitterness in my heart," he said.

The meeting was the answer of the churches of America to the spirit which presumes to dictate the policy and control the voice of the American pulpit.

FROM the standpoint of the church, it was a revealing week. It uncovered the latent weakness in the position of American Protestantism. It revealed the strong hand of a few wealthy men in determining the policies of the church. It revealed the too common alliance of the church with a reactionary social philosophy. It revealed the price which institutions pay for buildings and budgets. It revealed the Y. M. C. A. at its worst, and suggests the futility of building up boards of directors with men whose chief qualification is financial power.

The church of America stands indicted by the facts. It is good that we should know the worst. We know where we stand. Light never harmed man or institution. We are in a better position to clean house.

The Detroit convention revealed a good deal about the American labor movement.

One might wish that the American Federation of Labor were in truth the united labor movement of America. It is tragic that all elements of the labor movement cannot find common meeting ground and speak with a common voice. In listening to their deliberations, one is constantly aware that great and influential sections of American labor are not represented in its ranks.

One is impressed by the conservatism of the American Federation. It is as orthodox in its own way as is the Baptist Church. It has the most abrupt way of pulling down the blinds whenever the wrong kind of light threatens. The delegates spent hours protesting the infringement of the right of free speech on the part of the church and Y. M. C. A. They were justified. But when Sherwood Eddy came with a message about Russia, couched in calm and accurate language, urging no definite steps in regard to recognition, simply suggesting that American labor should send representatives to Russia to see what is to be seen—then the blinds were drawn. The American Federation of Labor was indignant. It said in substance, We know all we want to know about Russia.

There are extenuating circumstances, to be sure. The labor movement has suffered much from communist propaganda. They have learned to beware of the man in whose eye is the light which never was on land or sea. They steer clear of him, and all his works. Quite natural, and altogether human. Nevertheless, the A. F. of L. pulls down the blinds.

IN justice, it is as well to remember that there are also extenuating circumstances for the actions of the Board of Commerce.

Again, one is impressed with the new leadership of the Federation. William Green is of solid and reliable stuff. He lacks the electric and massive quality of Samuel Gompers, but he has more of the spirit of conciliation. He is making a place for himself in American life, a place which is

securely his own. He is winning the confidence of all classes, and will serve increasingly. His reliance is upon the power of energized and intelligent good-will to overcome the obstacles imposed by the unrestrained and wanton waste of our industrial system.

The onlooker is impressed, also, by the range and variety of the interests of the American Federation of Labor. There is a full quota of ponderously grinding convention machinery, tedious as most conventions are, but now and again the whole proceeding lights up when appeal comes from some industrial group which needs the helping hand of the American Federation. At one time, it is the spokesmen for the bakery and confectionery workers, pleading the case of these workers against the new bread trust. Again it is a plea for

the southern textile workers in their struggle for better conditions. Now it is Rabbi Wise telling the story of the Passaic workers, of the faithlessness of the employers, who, promising recognition to any group affiliated with the A. F. of L., wantonly betray their promise. Now it is Kate Richards O'Hare in a plea for prison reform. Now it is a voice from Great Britain, bringing new evidence of the international aspect of the labor movement. Then Germany speaks, and Canada. Then a plea from Porto Rico that the American Federation shall not forget the misery which American occupation has fastened upon their island. And Mexico, in the person of the secretary of its labor federation, pleads with American labor to further the spirit of cooperation and good will.

Youth Ventures Toward Good Will

A First-Hand Story of the Bierville Peace Congress

O. B. GERIG

IF JUDGED by the number of young people assembled as well as by the number of countries represented, the Sixth International Democratic Congress for Peace held during August at Chateau Bierville in the beautiful Ile de France was unprecedented in the history of peace conclaves. Over five thousand youths from thirty nations were registered for the third week of the month's program, and on one special day extra trains from Paris brought the total up to nine thousand persons. Compared with boxing and baseball crowds, these figures may not be impressive; but when so many people can congenially suffer poor food and uncomfortable bunks for so long a time in the interests of peace, their devotion is quite as noteworthy as that of the fan who stands all night in the rain for a chance at a bleacher seat. Perhaps the cause of peace can yet be made as thrilling an adventure and as irresistible in appeal as wars and prize-fights.

It is one thing to get a great crowd to a conference. It is another to keep it there and see it become more eager each day for the immediate and ultimate goal of the peace program. This was accomplished by the diversified nature of the daily events covering the whole range of human interest from the practical to the artistic, from the physical to the spiritual, from the ordinary to the dramatic and spectacular. A day might begin with a commission studying the rather dull subject of the economic forces making for peace or war and end with a play depicting the life and spirit of St. Francis.

Marc Sangnier, founder and head of La Jeune Republique, was the chief organizer and leader of this Congress, and the keynote of the conference was struck by his frequent assertion that "we are gathered to discover, create and develop those moral and spiritual forces in individuals and in society which alone can secure permanent peace." In a gathering of this size wide differ-

ences in religious, political, economic and philosophical views were certain to obtain, and these differences would sometimes clash sharply in discussions. But at night-fall when thousands of youth gathered round the great fire in the open space above the wooded hillside singing their songs and playing their instruments, diversity in national, religious and political ideals had to give way to the unity which transcends them all. Even the language barrier was overcome in the presence of an art universally understood, and perhaps best liked of all were the lovely but often melancholy songs of the national group but recently most hated.

ONE of the objects of the Congress was to break down the last vestiges of ill-will and hatred between the youth of France and Germany. A special pilgrimage was made to Rheims where oak trees purchased by impoverished German Youth were planted in front of the cathedral with appropriate remarks pointing to the oak tree as a symbol of living and everlasting friendship. Even more impressive were the exercises at Bierville celebrating the anniversary of the adoption of the Constitution of Weimar, the formal establishment of the German Republic. In speech and song the ideals of the New Germany were proclaimed. In the evening as dusk fell an immense procession bearing torches and carrying flags of the various nations and youth organizations and headed by the great blue flag of the League of Nations, descended the winding road from the Camp of Peace, and passed the Chateau through the wooded park to the open-air theatre. Here Marc Sangnier bespoke a welcome to the new republic of Germany and as he finished his touching speech amid great applause he flung down a large wooden boarding behind which was revealed the German and French flags intertwined. "As this wooden barricade falls," he said, amid renewed cheers, "so may the barrier of hatred between the peoples

be thrown down by the efforts of youth of goodwill throughout the world."

Many notable statesmen gave long, general, platitudinous and sometimes meaningless addresses on the beautiful ideals of peace. But with one or two exceptions they did not reach either the hearts or the heads of the hearers. A new day seemed to be dawning of which they were not yet fully aware. Whether intentionally or not, the formal program omitted any subject dealing with the rapidly growing issue of personal non-participation in military activities based on religious or other grounds. But as in almost every peace congress in recent years, this vital subject persisted in coming to the surface. It will not stay submerged. At Bierville it appeared in small groups meeting informally under the trees, later invading the first study commission on the tendencies of the youth movement, and finally appeared as a full-grown resolution presented to the whole Congress on the closing day. It easily became the leading question of the day, dividing the group between those who yield highest loyalty to the state and those who see in God and conscience a majestic loyalty even higher. It was most interesting to note that the doctrine of Statism has in recent years shifted from the right to the left bank of the Rhine, finding its chief proponents among those who but recently fought to free themselves from its evil effects.

The recognition of conscience was ably championed by Dr. Nicholas Ehlen, leader of the Grossdeutsche Jugend and was supported by most of the German delegation, who at this conference numbered over three thousand. Repeatedly the Germans reminded the other nationals that although national and personal disarmament was really forced on them in the first instance by the treaty of Versailles, they had found the principle to be a good one and commended it to their former dictators. French dailies now began to call the Congress "extremist," so steps were taken by the authorities of the Congress to save its reputation, the delegates being warned against passing any "rash" resolution.

But the Congress had already begun to think logically about "the spiritual and moral forces" and was not easily dissuaded. At last a substitute resolution was put forward calling for longer and more dangerous civil alternative service to be exacted from the conscientious objector, and although it received a few more votes than the Ehlen resolution, the entire conference had been given a thorough treatment of the question which thousands heard for the first time and will not soon forget.

THE European press sometimes compared Bierville with Geneva. One comment was, "At Bierville, the 'mystique,' at Geneva the 'politique.'" Idealism is generally expected and forgiven in a congress of youth. First they are praised for it, then cautioned against following it. *Le Quotidien* (Paris) remarked that "the forces of love and of peace are always affirmed by the young, but responsible politics tempers their ardors. Without doubt not all the dreams of youth can be written into their programs. It is necessary to consider all the obstacles, political and economic, not to mention

human nature, which cannot be surmounted by words. The absolute of hope must always be translated into the relative of action. But in order that this relative may be acquired it is necessary that hope be immense."

Bierville did entertain a vast hope. In many parts of the world its aspirations will reverberate in the years to come. Like little rootlets creeping into the tiny fissures of rocks and at length rending them asunder, so we may confidently believe in the power of the moral and spiritual forces to penetrate and finally break the strongest fortress of the militarist ideal. The value of an international gathering so vast as Bierville lies perhaps more in the fine camaraderie and good fellowship than in the passing of resolutions or the staging of great addresses. Youth from many nations, too often steeped in the prejudices of a false history, walked and talked and ate together. They looked into each other's eyes and having done so will never again be able to break completely the bond of friendship. Doubtless similar future congresses should and will be held, each adding to the amity and accord upon which a warless world will at last be built.

At Chateau Bierville was erected a huge wooden Cross of Reconciliation. One passes it on the way to the shrine of St. Francis. Could one approach the spirit of St. Francis in any other way? Yet many people will not risk more than to place the cross on a church spire, a hillside or a watch chain, ever aspiring but not venturing. Youth wants peace. It is indeed a good sign that it is willing to take greater risks in achieving it.



Stoberleinsturm-Rothenburg—Woodcut—J. J. Lankes

Does Religion Quiet or Disquiet?

REINHOLD NIEBUHR

THE dictum of Bolshevism, "Religion is an opiate for the people," is quite generally shared by social radicals and revolutionaries the world over. Since the French Revolution an increasing number of people gifted with a sensitive conscience have been compelled to disavow religion for its alleged tendency to act as a sedative upon the conscience of men. Yet there is at the heart of religion the assumption that its influence is revolutionary. The prophets ridiculed the cry of "peace, peace" when there was no peace and on all the pages of the gospel a premium is placed not upon spiritual peace but upon spiritual hunger; not upon conformity but upon non-conformity. How is it then that religion has this twofold aspect? Is one or the other assumption based upon an illusion? Is religion self-deceived? Or are its critics mistaken?

The simplest answer, which protagonists of religion never tire of making, is that religion is revolutionary when it retains its vitality and becomes conservative as it runs to seed. That answer is too simple. The religion of Paul was vital enough and yet in many respects it was conservative. The Wesleyan revival did not lack in spiritual vitality nor in the ability to disquiet the individual conscience, but its social influence was conservative. The fact is that there are various tendencies and instincts warring for dominance in the life of religion. They are not necessarily either good or evil but they may issue in either conservative or revolutionary social and moral fruitage. Those who are interested in religion and still hopeful of its ethical and social potentialities in modern life must make themselves acquainted with these tendencies. Religion, as Professor Whitehead has aptly observed, is not transcendently good but transcendently important. Its influence upon specific situations and in specific crises may be either good or evil.

ON the whole religion is more apt to disquiet the individual conscience about personal shortcomings than to persuade it to resent or defy social wrong. This characteristic is partly due to the fact that the so-called personal sins are comparatively simple and a sensitized conscience may react against them almost automatically. Social sin is complex and not easily apprehended. Intelligence and imagination are required to discover it; and the jealousy of religion places a discount upon intelligence. Nonconformist Protestantism with its emotional background has been particularly individualistic for this reason. It has oversimplified ethics. Its conception of conversion made it necessary to regard men as either good or bad. It was blind therefore to the essentially evil attitudes into which men of sentimental goodwill might be tempted by their environment.

Historically Protestantism rose with the assertion of the rights of the individual against the tyranny of society. It tends therefore to disregard the moral limitations of society

and to place a premium upon those virtues by which the individual transcends society. Sometimes it gives special sanction to the prudential virtues of thrift and diligence by which man first frees himself from dependence upon his fellows and finally subjects his brothers under his own tyranny. The men who now dominate western industrial life, complacent in the consciousness of their private virtue, are the spiritual sons of men who once cultivated the virtues of thrift and diligence that they might call their souls their own.

Social conservatism is, however, not a purely Protestant characteristic. Religion itself, irrespective of Protestant limitations, has a deep instinct which easily leads to social conservatism. It is its genius for transcending life's limitations. The instinct is a precious one and dangerous only when it is not disciplined. Religion insists that happiness must be divorced from fortune, that man must know how to be abased and to abound. Health of body is a precarious fortune and if men can be happy only when they are healthy, they will not always be happy. The fortune of material success is denied to most men so that they would be unhappy if they could not learn the art of defying material fortune. So religion has profound justification for teaching men how to be content.

But the art is as dangerous as it is salutary. Men who learn how to transcend life's limitations are inclined to shirk the task of overcoming them. The Orient, which is supreme in the art of transcendence, is thus impotent before disease while the Occident develops medical science; the East lives in the misery of poverty while the West unlocks the storehouse of nature and becomes wealthy. Many of the achievements of the western world, which are now carried to the Orient by missionary enterprise, are the fruit not of our religion but of our irreligion. They have their advantages nevertheless, but also their limitations.

A wholesome life would seem to demand a careful balance between the urge to transcend and the urge to transform the physical circumstances under which we live. Perhaps religion, which is always born with the peasant, is betrayed in its later urban circumstances by some of its earlier rural characteristics. It is more possible to overcome the evils which we suffer at the hands of man than those which we suffer at the hands of nature. Yet the earlier instincts of religion persuade it to be as fatalistic about social as about natural ills. When the apostle Paul, for instance, enjoins his followers to regard their masters, even the unjust ones, as they would regard the Master himself, he is indulging a legitimate characteristic of religion to a dangerous degree. It may be noble to suffer the slings and arrows of outrageous fortune when they come from comparatively immutable nature; but if they come from society, valor may be nobler and more promising than patience. Religion is conservative

partly because it is not yet acclimated to an urban life. Its inclination to enjoin men to patience is a necessary though sometimes dangerous influence when men are dealing with a relatively implacable natural world; but it becomes a positively dangerous influence in the complexities of modern society where by taking thought we can eliminate many miseries from which men suffer at the hands of their fellows.

Any spiritual interpretation of the universe can be maintained intellectually only at the risk of gliding into pantheism, which offers another hazard to the moral potency of religion. If God is good and God is everywhere it follows that everything must be good. While religious apologetics usually tries to escape so consistent a conclusion it remains a fact that every theodicy betrays the inclination to condone evil in the interest of defending God's imperiled reputation. If God is both good and omnipotent, then what seems to be evil must really be some virtue in disguise. Thus during the World War religious people were often more intent upon finding saving virtues in the catastrophe than upon the elimination of its evil. A realistic interpretation of its horrors came invariably from those who had no theory of the universe to defend.

It would be foolish to pretend that it is easy to deal with the problem of evil. Yet it is obvious that religion does invariably blind men to real evils when it becomes too anxious about the metaphysical attributes of God. If the religion of Jesus has moral potency beyond the religions derived from it, it is due to its lack of metaphysics. The conclusion may not be unjustified that religion must always choose between an adequate metaphysics and an adequate ethics. Whenever God is completely identified with the real he ceases to be a God of the ideal.

WHILE religion is more inclined to condone social wrong than individual sin, it is not altogether free from the temptation of giving the individual conscience premature peace. Religion gives a high evaluation to human personality and such an evaluation may result in very diverse consequences. On the one hand men who are persuaded that they are sons of God will be inclined to become sensitive to their moral limitations. But the consciousness of transcendent worth may serve to obscure sin as well as to reveal it. The same religion which prompts one man to repentance may supply to another the fiction by which he maintains his self-respect without changing his life. The same religion which in one case tends to qualify and restrain the instincts of greed and hatred tends in another to sublimate the primitive attitudes of men so they are not revealed in their naked ugliness. Liberal Protestantism, which imagines itself very realistic, is particularly given to the vice of overvaluing human nature and obscuring its defects. It has fallen into this error partly because of the influences of Romanticism upon its thought. In holding to the essential goodness of human nature it has lost the paradoxical attitude of Jesus who had the habit of telling good people how evil they were and of discovering unsuspected goodness in those who passed as bad people.

The philosophical monism into which liberal religion was immersed by the necessities of its apologetic task since Dar-

win has complicated its ethical problem. It falls easily into the superstition of automatic progress and thus aggravates the unwarranted optimism with which it is prone to regard the human scene. Social radicals are right in accusing the modern church of a fathomless sentimentality. It does not know how serious the ethical problem which faces modern civilization is. It looks at the facts of human history, particularly of contemporary history, through its rose colored glasses and complicates the task of those who really try to call modern civilization to repentance. There is a real genius in religion for making people conscious of their moral limitations, for encouraging the emotions of repentance, but it has been seriously handicapped by the various historical influences which have played upon the life of the modern church.

Again these ethical defects are not altogether Protestant or modern. There is at the heart of all true religion some assurance of grace, some guarantee that our intentions will ultimately be accepted in lieu of our achievements and that our imperfect lives will somehow be perfected. It is a necessary assurance without which a really sensitive conscience would find life intolerable. Yet the assurance is as dangerous to morality as it is necessary. The church has always found it difficult to restrain men from appropriating the idea of grace prematurely. Men seek to appropriate the resources of peace in religion before they have really engaged in the moral struggle or before they have resisted evil unto blood.

In the beatitudes of Jesus the dominant note is that there must be yearning for the unachieved in every achievement. Blessings are pronounced not upon the good but upon those who want to be good, not upon the satisfied but upon the unsatisfied. It is this note which religion finds difficulty in keeping alive. Periodically it is lost in religion's assurances of pardon and peace.

True religion must at once quiet and disquiet the conscience of men. It must at once unify personality and throw a prematurely unified personality into new confusion. That is not an easy task and it may therefore be inevitable that religion should frequently fail in accomplishing it.



Fisherman's Cottage—Woodcut—J. J. Lankes

Singeing the Beard of the Spanish Censor

H. C. ENGELBRECHT

THE bosom companion of the dictator is the censor. Under most autocratic and irresponsible governments the two are merely Dr. Jekyll and Mr. Hyde, or to use an American simile, The White House Spokesman and the President. It is significant that the one-man or one-party governments of the present Europe are established in the countries with the highest percentage of illiteracy: Spain, Italy, Greece, Russia. Illiteracy being the most effective censorship, it would seem that half-a-censor would be sufficient in these countries. The contrary seems to be true; they need a double censor.

Our example is Spain under Primo de Rivera. Forty-five per cent of the Spanish people cannot read. Seville, a city of 150,000, is reported with five hundred wine taverns and one bookshop. In this lost and lonely bookmart there were sold three copies of the poems of Rafael Alberti, recently honored by the National Prize for Poetry. On the other hand, a name like Miguel Unanuno is representative of another Spain. And this other Spain was a danger to oppressive dictatorship and stupid censorship. Long ago Unanuno, the philosopher of the University of Salamanca, was banished and he now lives in Paris. Professor Ximenes Unsua of the University of Madrid was next to incur official wrath. Accused of leading the opposition against the successor of Unanuno, he was exiled to Chavarinas on the islands off the coast of Morocco. Protesting students were compelled to reconsider their silly notions during a fifteen day stay in prison. Then followed the Academy of Law. Its regular weekly meetings under the chairmanship of Professor Clemente de Diego were accustomed to discuss freely and unconventionally the affairs of the profession. The Government decided to send to these meetings its representative who was to report the discussions.

THE chief difficulty remained—the press. Every newspaper was put under the censorship. They are all marked with the brand of slavery: "This paper has been reviewed by the Censor." Little of significance escapes the guardians of the press. Harassed editors must have on hand much "harmless copy" to fill in at any place. The editorial space is occupied by an article on the geological structure of the Pyrenees, because "it is impossible for us to publish an editorial today." Similarly all other sections.

For a time an attempt was made to destroy the censorship through the radio. In March of this year a secret station was in the service of the opposition. Day by day it sent out the news which the Censor would not allow: the resolutions of the Government, the war in Morocco, etc. The entire Spanish police was put on the trail of this troublesome station. The Government threatened to stop all broadcasting until the culprit was discovered. No more has been reported. Evidently the voice in the wilderness has been silenced.

The best story out of the chapter on Spanish censorship—a story which ought not go wholly unnoticed by the rest of the world—is one that might be called "Bagaria and his humorless friends." Bagaria is the well-known cartoonist on the staff of *El Sol* of Madrid. Several months ago he published a cartoon in a German paper with the caption: "In my country everybody is eager for a revolution, and everybody has rented a seat in a balcony to see it march by." Following a bit of irritating pencil-marking in *El Sol*, Bagaria produced next day a very luxuriant plant, mysteriously defying classification, with the note: "Now let us see, whether the Censor will think that this cartoon contains an allusion to the Government." The day after, the cartoonist's space was occupied by this bit of information: "It is impossible for us to publish today the usual cartoon of Bagaria." What follows is best appreciated chronologically.

April 2. Cartoon: "Do you know which image has most devotees in Spain? Very simple. The Jesus of Silence."

April 3. Note: "It is impossible for us to publish today the usual cartoon of Bagaria."

April 6. Song: "Some come and others go, but those that bother us, never leave."

April 7. "It is impossible———."

April 20. Meditation: "Just see the number of Spaniards that go to bullfights and to football games and what few remain for other national duties."

April 21. A dove blue-penciled. "The censored dove."

April 26. A Spanish Story:

"Listen, Pancho, that remark about jackass. Did you say that to me in jest or in earnest?"

"In earnest, of course."

"Well, that's good; because I do not like to see jokes wasted on me."

April 30. Cartoon of an ape pierced by a sketching pencil. The ape: "What a life this cartoonist is giving me! If he continues, it will be the end of our tribe!"

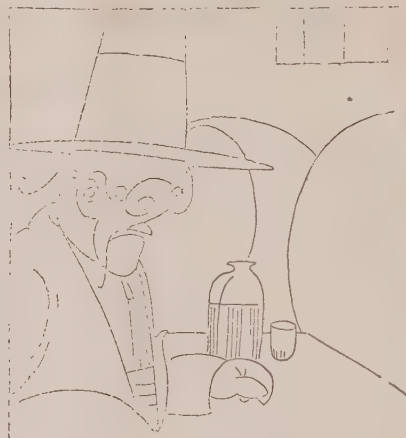
Bagaria then disappears for a week. On May 6 the following note appeared in *El Sol*:

"Luis Bagaria, our dear comrade, one of the greatest figures on *El Sol*, is going to America. He has prepared a magnificent collection of cartoons which . . . demands final revision. This and the preparations for his voyage are so absorbing a task that Bagaria, beginning today, stops sketching in these pages."

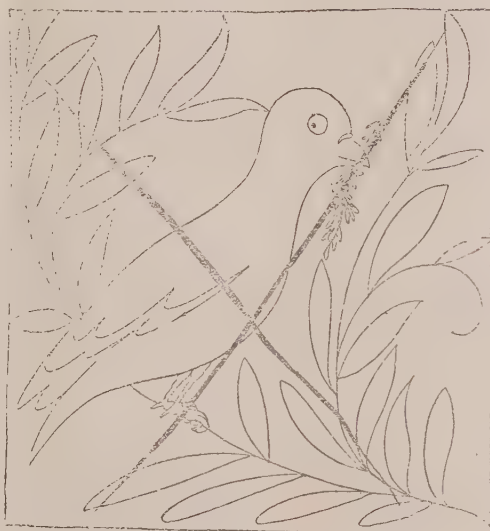
Thus Bagaria takes a vacation before he is given one on a lonely island. The irreverent corsair who does not respect the pompous dignity of the Censor, but sings his very beard, is no doubt a danger and a nuisance—to the Censor. As for Spain, it were far better that the Censor were on his way to a permanent vacation, so that Bagaria might be free to continue his precious, if embarrassing activity.



Spring: Wonder if the censor sees any reflections on the government here?



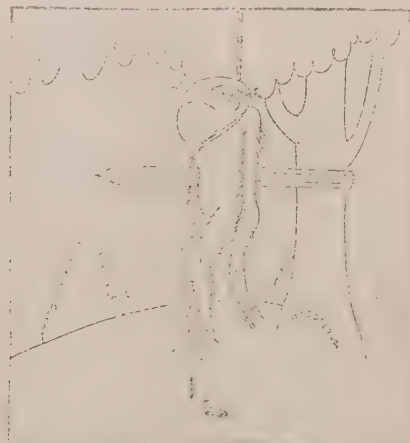
Why are there so many Spaniards for bullfights and football, and so few for other national duties?



The Censored Dove



A Spanish Story: "When you called me an ass I hope you were serious. Because you see all jokes are wasted on me."



The Poor Monkey: "What a life! If this cartoonist continues, our tribe will be wiped out."

A New Literature for Children

MARJORIE WORTHINGTON

THE second week in November is Children's Book Week. During this time the publishers, more or less proudly, will display their lists. These lists will contain reprints of the old favorites in new bindings with truly delightful illustrations; perhaps the same heroes in new uniforms and different names; bed-time stories with the same old morals only somewhat more cleverly hidden—oh, there will be plenty of nice books for the polite book clerk to suggest to a hurried parent who breathlessly demands, "Do give me something for little Willie, something wholesome, you know—and—er—amusing."

Well, there is this much to be said. There are less of the Boo-stories, and, thanks to the institution of the John Newbery medal (the idea of Frederic Melcher, editor of *Publisher's Weekly*) authors are being stimulated to write good books for the young to keep pace with such classics as "Huckleberry Finn," "Alice in Wonderland" and the other perennials.

But the intelligent parent who has followed the more progressive methods of education must again sigh. His child is demanding something more than old milk in new bottles. The child of today who has the good fortune to attend one of the modern schools, or to possess interested parents who try to supplement the training of the public schools, is demanding facts. He is content to play with fantasy in off moments, but there are other times when he looks around at a moving world, and, as Professor James Harvey Robinson suggests, begins to ask, "How did we get this way?"

The publishers' lists will show again what a gap there is between the progress made by modern educators and the progress made by the authors of children's books.

IT was to detect the causes of this lag, and to quicken the progress, that a Literature Committee was formed last spring under the auspices of Pioneer Youth of America. Pioneer Youth, an organization providing clubs and summer camps for the children of workers' families, found in its endeavor to establish a library a deplorable lack of good books that would meet the needs of its eager and alert children. These boys and girls were being prepared to face the social and economic problems of the time; they were being encouraged to make scientific investigations of these problems. They were ready for books that would help them understand themselves and the conditions under which they must live; books that would give them a vision of the world as it might become with the nobler ideals of fellowship and mutual aid replacing the current ideals of militarism, race hatred and exploitation.

The Literature Committee, composed of educators, parents and writers, prepared, first, to make a survey of the books already available. It decided to enlist the help of the public, and letters were published in various newspapers and peri-

odicals stating its aims and asking for the titles of books that seemed to fit the new requirements. It asked for books that would stress the heroism of men and women whose victories were peacetime victories, whose personal sacrifices were made for the good of the race, and who fought war, poverty, intolerance and ignorance in all its manifestations.

The response to this appeal was overwhelming. Letters poured in from all over the country, not only submitting possible and impossible titles, but applauding the Committee in its attempt. If any doubt existed before that there was a genuine need for the type of book the Committee was seeking, that doubt was soon dispelled. From far-off Japan came the plea of a teacher of English to send him immediately the results of the survey. From the principal of a most conservative school for boys in New England came the list of books in his library and the urgent plea that he be sent the result of the inquiry because he was having difficulty in meeting the demands of his young students.

The Walden School, City and Country, and other progressive schools offered their libraries for research, and stressed the need for more of the right kind of books. Parents from all over the country sent in the books that had pleased their own youngsters and begged for "more."

In the mail, of course, came suggestions from people with special "causes" in mind, who thought this a splendid opportunity for reaching the impressionable young mind. The Committee had to reiterate from time to time that it was not trying to substitute one kind of propaganda for another; that while obviously it deplored the stressing of militarism and imperialism in current text books, it was not going to swing so far over to the other side as to propose a denial that blood was ever shed or battles fought during the long years of history.

In fact, the Committee was attacked on just this ground by one indignant "100 percenter." It was accused of being made up of "presuming reformers, at present enjoying the security, prosperity and benefits of our Government through the efforts of the very battle leaders whose efforts they decry. Where would our country be today were it not for Washington, Lafayette, Greene, DeGrasse and Rochambeau? Long may their deeds inspire young America with their pure ideals and steadfast loyalty and courage!"

STRANGE, how from the very first the Committee was supposed to emphasize history and economics and social movements, though in fact, after the titles had been collected and presented to authorities in the various fields, it was found that in these three places were the biggest gaps. Fiction for the time being could be passed over, although there is an ever present need for more books for children of before-school age. Science was fairly well covered, and recently the field has been enriched with such books as Paul

de Kruif's *Microbe Hunters* and a life of Pasteur that a child can enjoy. Nature study could wait, and likewise explorations and discoveries. But nowhere was there any account of the great social movements, nor of the pioneers engaged in them. Nowhere was there a book on the new economics that could be read by a child. The periods between wars, the fight against disease and social evils, were hurried over by historians. These were some of the things our children were asking about. These were the things they should be told.

While the investigation was going on the Committee discovered that such bodies as the American Legion, the American Defense Society, the National Security League and others whose interests lie in maintaining the status quo were making a concentrated drive to have their views of history accepted. The American Legion has officially endorsed a history of the old type and is attempting to make it a text book in all the public schools.

It was partly to counteract this sort of propaganda that the Literature Committee of Pioneer Youth decided to have its first book written at once. It commissioned a well-known writer on social problems to write the history of progressive movements in this country. He will write this in the form of biographical sketches of the pioneers of freedom—of men like Thomas Paine and William Lloyd Garrison. He will gather from first hand sources stories of modern pioneers such as John Peter Altgeld, Gene Debs and other leaders in democratic movements both in and out of the labor world. His experience so far in collecting this data furnishes another proof of the need of taking steps along such lines.

The next attempt will be in the field of economics. Most writers on this subject have a forbidding style even to adults, and would of course be impossible to even the brightest of children. Carlyle called economics "the dreariest of the sciences," and it was not until the newer social scientists such as Stuart Chase, Professor Tugwell of Columbia, George Soule and others of today began to write, that economics was treated in a more readable fashion. For children, however, there is no similar escape from heaviness, and the Committee has found that they are still being taught the old economics of the first part of the nineteenth century and that this has little connection with present economic realities.

Perhaps the public that met the announcement of the Literature Committee's endeavor with such welcome enthusiasm will be disappointed that so much attention has been paid to text books. This is just an account of the first steps and the Committee feels it has attacked the most serious gaps first. In this age that has made so much of the child perhaps more and more of the best writers will feel it worth their while to add to the children's bookshelves. Bertrand Russell has said, "The Good Life is a life inspired by love and guided by knowledge." In our modern children we have great audiences ready for guidance. Can we gain the knowledge and supply the materials to guide them rightly?

Good Books For Children

The following books, though few in number, are selected from a longer list of books recommended to Pioneer Youth of America by various, competent individuals and groups. While no book, obviously, will be of value to every child, especially since preferences vary even at the same age, here are books from which a further selection may be made with some confidence by children and by friends of children.

- The Child's Story of the Human Race*, by Ramon Coffman.
- The Story of Mankind*, by Hendrik Van Loon.
- Historic Inventions*, by Rupert S. Holland.
- The Story of the Bible*, by Hendrik Van Loon.
- La Salle and the Discovery of the Great West*, by Francis Parkman.
- A Social History of the American Negro*, by Benjamin Brawley.
- Ox-Team Days on the Oregon Trail*, by Ezra Meeker.
- In the Days Before Columbus*, by Francis Rolt-Wheeler.
- American Indian Life*, edited by Elsie Clews Parsons.
- The Romance of Labor*, by Frances Doane Twombly and John Cotton Dana.
- The Youth and the Nation*, by Harry Hascall Moore.
- Diggers in the Earth*, by Eva March Tappan.
- All About Railways*, by F. S. Hartnell.
- The Building of Cities*, by James Harlean.
- Through the Gateway*, edited by Florence Brewer Boeckel.
- Rebel Saints*, by Mary Agnes Best.
- Treasury of Plays for Children*, edited by Montrose J. Moses.
- This Singing World*, by Louis Untermeyer.
- Around the World*, by Clarence Carroll.
- A Beginner's Star Book*, by Kelvin McKreedy.
- Our Winter Birds*, by Frank M. Chapman.
- Handbook of the Birds of Eastern North America*, by Frank M. Chapman.
- Insect Life*, by J. H. Comstock.
- Dwellers of the Sea and Shore*, by William Crowder.
- Life of the Spider*, by J. Henri Fabre.
- The New Natural History*, by J. Arthur Thomson.
- Pets, Their History and Care*, by Lee S. Crandall.
- Lives of the Hunted*, by Ernest Thompson Seton.
- Animals of the Past*, by F. A. Lucas.
- Child's Book of Modern Stories*, by A. M. and E. M. Skinner.
- Little Lost Boy*, by W. H. Hudson.
- Morning Face*, by Gene Stratton Porter.
- Rootabaga Stories*, by Carl Sandburg.
- Undine*, by La Motte Fouqué.
- Here and Now Stories*, by Lucy Sprague Mitchell.
- Maya the Bee*, by Waldemar Bonsels.
- Heaven Folk*, by Waldemar Bonsels.
- The Spirit of the Hive*, by Dallas Lore Sharp.
- Winnie-the Pooh*, by A. A. Milne.

Books on International Affairs

A History of Imperialism

THERE has long been an urgent need for a volume on imperialism which would not content itself with generalities but which would describe and appraise the actual methods by which six hundred million alien people have been brought under the control of a few powerful nations. This need has at last been met in Professor Parker Moon's admirable work on *Imperialism and World Politics*. There is probably no other single book which contains such detailed and accurate accounts of the European control in Africa, the Near East, and Asia, and of the adventures of the United States and Japan in imperialism.

As Professor Moon points out, this extraordinary extension of control in the main developed within the last half-century. All of the larger powers participated in this race for colonies and spheres of influence, with this difference that Germany was almost a full decade behind England and France. Within thirty years virtually all of Africa and many other territories as well were seized.

What were the causes for this extraordinary revival of neo-mercantilism? Professor Moon disagrees with J. A. Hobson as to the primary importance of the export of capital. He, of course, admits that this was a real force but at a later stage. The original economic drive came, he maintains, from the desire to find markets for the "surplus" cotton goods and iron and steel products. To sell those goods in the home market would have caused a great reduction in price and to avert this it was thought necessary to secure the political control of "backward" areas, and to create there an exclusive, or at least a favored market for these excess products.

A second factor was the demand for tropical products. Many Europeans, of whom Cecil Rhodes and King Leopold were but outstanding examples, soon saw the possibility of seizing the natural resources of these backward peoples and compelling the natives at low wages to produce commodities which could be sold in the world market for a relatively high price. This desire was strengthened by the feeling that empires should be built up which in time of war might be economically self-sufficient.

A third argument which won many over to imperialism was that colonies were necessary to afford an outlet for the expanding population which improved medicine and sanitation were causing in the European countries. A further economic force was the desire to provide the younger sons with well-paid positions in the colonial services at the expense of the conquered peoples.

But imperialism is compounded of other elements than the purely economic. Many Christians became ardent supporters in the belief that it would facilitate the conversion of the natives to organized Christianity. Nationalistic megalomania, which measured greatness in terms of the amount of territory possessed and the number of people ruled, imbued patriots with the desire to seize as much as they could. Finally the romantic sentimentalism of the "white man's burden" not only furnished an altruistic excuse for the economic motives but swayed many who believed that the public works, education, and medicine of the West could only be introduced at the point of the bayonet.

It is one of the merits of Professor Moon's book that he attempts to determine the degree to which the realities have borne out the hopes. The newly conquered countries have in nearly all cases been a source of considerable financial expense to the possessing nations. They have not absorbed any considerable number of white emigrants. While the

amount of exports from the home countries to these colonies has probably been increased somewhat over what they would have been had these territories not been conquered, this increase is relatively insignificant when compared with the increase in the trade between the major powers themselves.

Nor have the cultural gains been as great as Kipling would have us believe. The cause of true Christianity has been weakened, rather than strengthened, by its unholy alliance with the things that are Caesar's. Little money has been spent by the imperialistic powers upon education. Against our gifts of sanitation and of public works must be set the spread of venereal disease and of liquor.

All in all, the colonial possessions have really been white elephants. In view of the great rivalry between the European powers for colonies, a rivalry which helped to precipitate the Great War and which even now threatens to cause future struggles, and in view of the rising tide of opposition in these very countries against external domination, it would seem that the path of wisdom is either to internationalize the colonies or to extend the scope of the mandatory system of the League of Nations. Unless some such steps as these are taken, the Western World, wracked by quarrels within itself and by the revolts of the black, brown and yellow races, may find its colonial adventures to have been a series of tragic blunders.

PAUL H. DOUGLAS

Needed Facts About the Philippines

THE cry for justice remains insistent until it is heard, and a question that involves a principle is never settled until it is settled right. This is the thesis of a former president of the American Bar Association when he takes up his pen to defend the cause of the Filipinos in *The Conquest of the Philippines*,² by Moorfield Storey and Marcial P. Lichauco. No student of history will deny the truth of Mr. Storey's contention. It may take a long time for wronged peoples to obtain justice; but the day of reckoning inevitably arrives.

Mr. Storey's presentation of the conquest of the Philippines by the United States is, as might be expected from so eminent a lawyer, a brief, rather than a historical statement. He marshals his facts to present a case, and he is assisted in this task by the first Filipino graduate of Harvard College. The "exact truth," which the authors claim they are presenting, we undoubtedly have. The brief is based on official documents: Acts of Congress; speeches and letters of Presidents, Cabinet members, and Senators; correspondents of the State and War Departments; testimony of Army officers and soldiers before military tribunals and Congressional committees; and—in a few instances—reports and newspapermen. Messrs. Storey and Lichauco are chary of quoting opinions—in this field they limit themselves to Abraham Lincoln and Theodore Roosevelt. What they are after, as good lawyers, is a presentation of the case through facts and this they have done with such effect that the American reader is at first uncomfortable and then ashamed, even though he may notice places where extenuating circumstances existed.

No fair-minded man can arrive at any other conclusion than that the United States has acted with bad faith towards the inhabitants of the Philippine Islands from our very first contact with them; that we have denied them the right to profess and defend principles dear to us and upon which our government is founded; and that we adopted the policy of *Schrecklichkeit* in suppressing what we called—with doubtful legality—an "insurrection."

However, the cautious reader, who wants to remain open-minded,

¹ Parker T. Moon, *Imperialism and World Politics*. Published by The Macmillan Co. (1926), 566 pp. Through The World Tomorrow Book Shop, \$3.50, post paid.

² Published by G. P. Nutnam's Sons. Through The World Tomorrow Book Shop. \$2.00 postpaid.

remembers that the book is a brief, presenting only one side of a case. Of course we realize that the object of the authors in arraigning our conduct of the war was not to indict the American Army (which only acted under orders, and which was frequently betrayed into atrocities owing to the nature of the warfare), but to show how terribly the Filipinos suffered.

The greatest value of Mr. Storey's work is his demonstration of the fact that the Philippine Islands were acquired by the United States, and have been retained, by the action of the Executive branch of the government, uncontrolled by Congress. Congress was placed before a *fait accompli*. War was undertaken against the Filipino people without the consent of Congress.

In 1926 it still looks as if the settlement of this question were wholly in the hands of the President. But in the final analysis the President does not go against public opinion, and he will not do so in this case. If Mr. Coolidge's decision is against Filipino aspirations it will be because the American people are either apathetic to the issue or because they no longer agree with what Abraham Lincoln called "the leading principle—the sheet anchor of American republicanism."

HERBERT ADAMS GIBBONS.

Our Recent Foreign Policy

EVERYONE knows and uses books which are valuable for study and reference if supplemented by other material on the same subject, even though these volumes could not be recommended with enthusiasm for themselves alone. One example is *The Recent Foreign Policy of The United States*, by George H. Blakeslee. Professor Blakeslee, whose knowledge of his subject is based on contact with diplomatic channels, presents concisely and clearly, though conservatively, the history of our governmental relations with other countries during the past few years, with sufficient background, however, to make recent policies intelligible. (Published by the Abingdon Press. Through The World Tomorrow Book Shop, \$2.00 postpaid.)

D.A.

Dependent America

A FORMER Secretary of Commerce, William C. Redfield, masses a tremendous amount of evidence showing how the citizens of the United States are dependent upon the labor of the people of more than fifty nations for many of the necessities and comforts which they enjoy. Emphasis is placed upon the political implications of foreign trade. Truly no nation liveth unto itself. (Published by Houghton Mifflin Co. New York. Through The World Tomorrow Book Shop, \$2.50 postpaid.)

K. P.

Midas

THE slim volume, *Midas, or the United States and the Future*, by C. H. Bretherton, is a discussion of the present American situation—its wealth, its foreign population, its materialism, its prohibition, and its "fundamentalism." It is a rather usual evaluation of the United States by an Englishman. The writer believes that Europe is following America. The only difference is that America moves faster and has had a longer start. (Published by E. P. Dutton. Today and Tomorrow Series. Through The World Tomorrow Book Shop. \$1.00, postpaid.)

A. A. S.

The International Anarchy

WHILE historians are busily seeking a just apportionment of guilt to the various nations concerned with the origin of the World War, and politicians of the period during which the storm gathered and broke heap invective on the heads of numerous indi-

viduals, one man has probed, perhaps better than any other, to the system, infinitely more potent for evil, that underlay the catastrophe and made it inevitable. G. Lowes Dickinson in *The International Anarchy* discusses first, the general outlines of that anarchy into which nationalistic assertions of complete "sovereignty" must always take mankind; and follows by a detailed, thoroughly documented study of the international anarchy eventuating in the War. It is, of course, of profound importance to the future. Just as a certain wit declared that he would like to know where he was going to die, in order that he might keep away from the damned place, likewise the nations may learn, if they will, lessons from the War which will show them, at the very least, what they ought to keep away from. Even though the reviewer cannot accept every one of Mr. Dickinson's interpretations, his fairness and respect for facts are patent. (Published by the Century Co. Through The World Tomorrow Book Shop, \$3.50 postpaid.)

D.A.

Our Southern Neighbor

THE UNITED STATES AND MEXICO, 1821-1924 by Professor J. Fred Rippy is a much needed volume. For the first time an adequate survey of the relations between the United States and Mexico from the date of Mexican independence to the present is made accessible. It is diplomatic history and therefore at times boresome and quibbling—as are diplomats. A faithful record could hardly avoid this. At the same time economic factors and northern imperialism are properly emphasized. This book may well be at the elbow of all who concern themselves with our southern neighbor. (Published by A. A. Knopf. Through The World Tomorrow Bookshop \$5.00 postpaid.)

H.C.E.

From Dawes to Locarno

"WHAT deep wounds ever closed without a scar?" Byron's words come to mind reading George Glasgow's book, which is the story of Locarno in the making. Genoa, Cannes, Rapallo—all were stitches taken in the gaping wounds of bleeding Europe. Locarno is the first big scar. Considering the gravity of the wounds one may well rejoice at this with our author. But it is well to remember that the Locarno treaties are scars and not beauty marks. They are only the beginning of convalescence. The patient has still to suffer through many weary and dangerous years before all broken bones have been set and knitted, all amputated members have been restored and his face has been properly and painfully lifted. Still, "what wound did ever heal but by degrees?" Or perhaps better: "What fools these mortals be?" (Published by Harper and Brothers. Through The World Tomorrow Book Shop, \$2.50 postpaid.)

H.C.E.

HONORABLE MENTION

"What book have you recently found especially worth while?" In response to this query we have received the following titles:

FLORENCE KELLEY, General Secretary of the National Consumers' League, New York: *Historical Aspects of the Immigration Problem*, by Edith Abbott. (University of Chicago Press).

JOSHUA LIEBERMAN, Secretary of Pioneer Youth, New York: *Microbe Hunters*, by Paul de Kruif. (Harcourt, Brace Co.).

CHARLES S. JOHNSON, Editor of Opportunity, New York: *Tropic Death*, by Eric Walrond. (Boni & Liveright).

OF GENERAL INTEREST BUT OF SPECIAL WORTH

Living Stories of Tropic Death

AT a time when originality is sought after by sophisticated readers and perhaps, though one is less certain, by zealous publishers, it is a privilege to record that for once it has been found. And for it we have to thank Eric Walrond, author of *Tropic Death*.¹ Walrond is a member of that group of younger colored writers to whom discerning people have learned to look with eager expectation, more and more rarely to be disappointed. But to consider these stories of the lands bordering the Caribbean merely in terms of the output of any group would be an error. Here is a brilliance that will stand on its own feet against all comers.

Walrond has keen perceptions and a subtlety which he has combined in a manner like that of no one else whom I have read. By a few stark sentences he can convey at once the physical characteristics of the tropical Negroes who move through his stories; their confused mentalities; the beauty of land and sea, behind which lurk unnamed terrors he refuses to let you forget for an instant; and grossness, cruelty, ignorance, superstition, and pathos, only sharpened by the occasional hint of tenderness which the author, even in his present mood, was not too intent on tragedy to reveal.

The ten stories are frank, grim beyond description, marching straight to such dire outcomes that the word tragedy hardly suffices. To some, they may seem even morbid; but to me they do not. There must be more than this, to be sure, even amid the squalor of native life in this region before so little dealt with; but I am inclined to think that it was the greater artistry for the author to dip his pen into the blood and slime of the fevered scenes he knows so well and write, without stopping to cleanse it in the romantic, moonlit seas of the Spanish Main. The writing is not pretty; but it is well-high indelible.

Four of the stories twist off with a somewhat disconcerting suddenness into supernaturalism and folklore. This practice, so indulged in just now by narrators, has good warrant; but whether it can appropriately be introduced into a collection of tales so homogeneous as these is open, at least, to question. As used here, its justification seems slender, and it brings the action close to melodrama. One wishes also that Mr. Walrond would temper legend by nature study; the theme of what might have been his most impressive story is based on reptilian performances to which, I am certain, Mr. Raymond Ditmars would be more than reluctant to give credence. And though the diction throughout the book is irresistibly fresh and striking, the most tolerant welcomer of modernist vocabulary chokes occasionally when he is asked to swallow wholesale doses of alliterative splendor.

Even so, these stories get you. You don't lay them aside when you are through and reach for something else; you are possessed by them too much. I interrupted a laborious reading of H. G. Wells's new two-volume oratorio to read Walrond; and I'm not going back to Wells—not this year anyway.

I suppose it is my duty to say, however, what may be already apparent: that the characters in this book, many of them, are not nice people—not the sort, you understand, one would like to have at one's table. And that is all some readers ever seem to care to know! But in my present state of mind I am almost rude enough to say that if that's the way you feel about it, you can leave me off your dinner list as well.

DEVERE ALLEN

A Biography of the Western Mind

TODAY in every field of science, in literature, art and philosophy there are now in print "outlines" that will acquaint one readily and rapidly with all that one need really know to be intelligently informed.

One of the very most important of these recent contributions is "*The Making of the Modern Mind*,"² by Jörn Herman Randall, Jr. Professor Randall has attempted in his book to survey the whole intellectual background of the present age. His outline comprises that portion of the history of the human spirit nearest and dearest to us all, the development of our own modern civilization. This modern civilization of ours, he points out, is "the product of those generations of men, chiefly in northwestern Europe, who lived after the ancient Roman Empire had entered upon a social and intellectual disintegration. It represents a fusion of the ideas of the Hellenistic world with the customs and temper of mind of the barbarian invaders of the Empire," (p. 11). It is a "very young" civilization as civilizations go, having "a continuous history of less than a thousand years." And it is also a strenuous civilization, for it has in that relatively short period "undergone more changes than any of the other civilizations of the world" (10).

But these many changes involved no disorder,—at least in Professor Randall's treatment of them they fall into neat, dramatic episodes. The first of these is the Medieval Synthesis, where the passion for union with God dominated not merely religious, but political, social, and even economic organization. The second episode is the Renaissance with its new interest in the individual and the consequent revolt from feudalism in social life and Catholicism in religion. This is the period of awakened naturalism, a period of exploitation of the world that is here and now, and of its interests, in contrast to the medieval preoccupation with the kingdom to come. Out of this worldly interest developed the science of the seventeenth and eighteenth centuries with its identification of the natural with the rational, and of the rational with the divine. And last of all comes the contemporary scene, the "growing world" of the past hundred years, a world in romantic revolt against this religion of reason, preoccupied with the problem of evolution, trying to establish some new rapport between faith and knowledge.

Professor Randall's characterizations of these four ages of our civilization is very clear and definite. But to the present writer they seem just a bit too articulate to be strictly true. Undeniably search will reveal a dominant set of ideals or objectives in any given period, but these ideals are always discovered and can only be defined in terms of conflicts which are invariably complex and usually obscure. Professor Randall's limitations of space force him to foreshorten the historical perspective in which he views events. The necessity for simplifying the issues with which he deals in order to make them intelligible in a few pages makes him at every point an unwilling dogmatist. It is not what he says, but what in the interest of conciseness and clarity he must refrain from saying, the involuntary sins of omission, that make this book an emphatic over-simplification of the subject with which it deals. What was a welter of competing movements is reduced in his pages to a series of sharply outlined still lifes.

Professor Randall's object in telling the story of our civilization was to help us understand and appreciate our cultural heritage, the science, the religion, the art, the moral ideals, all that has made us what we are, all "those great achievements in the past of mankind that have created the home in which man's spirit now moves." His book contains nothing shoddy and second hand, on the contrary it is astonishingly erudite. Professor Randall is keenly aware that men speak best for themselves and has made constant use of finely selected quotations which will express the spirit of a time as only the actual language of that time can do. Furthermore he has exhibited the most extraordi-

¹ Published by Boni and Liveright. Through The World Tomorrow Book Shop. \$2.50 postpaid.

² Published by Houghton, Mifflin Co. Through The World Tomorrow Book Shop. \$5.00 postpaid.

nary skill in arranging an enormous mass of material so clearly and compactly that one volume here contains the detailed story of a thousand hurrying years. And lastly he has written in a style which, though undistinguished and occasionally marred by a tinge of pulpit eloquence, is clear and goes straight to its point.

Yet one reads the book with a sense of disappointment and frustration. Here is the biography of one of the greatest adventures in the history of the human spirit and in the telling it becomes lifelessly abstract and unreal. I do not know where the fault lies, but I agree with Professor Randall that "ideas, like all things human, have a career, they are born and grow and mature and may even die." And I suspect that, unless one has great genius for that sort of thing, when you try to "popularize" an idea you kill it.

GAIL KENNEDY.

A Foreign Policy Reading List

General International Relations

- Secret Diplomacy*, by Paul Reinsch. Harcourt, Brace.
International Relations, by Raymond Leslie Buell. Holt.
Dollar Diplomacy, by Scott Nearing and Joseph Freeman. Huebsch.
An American Peace Policy (pamphlet), by Kirby Page. Doran.
American Foreign Investments, by Robert W. Dunn. Huebsch.
French Debt Problem, by Moulton and Lewis. Macmillan.
Survey of International Relations, 1924, by Arnold J. Toynbee. Oxford University Press.
Empire and Commerce in Africa, by Leonard Woolf. Macmillan.
International Relations Viewed from Geneva, by William E. Rappard. Yale University Press.
Syllabus in International Relations, by Parker T. Moon. Macmillan.
Races, Nations and Classes, by Herbert Adolphus Miller. Lippincott.
The New World (with Supplement)—Problems in Political Geography, by Isaiah Bowman. World Book Co.
Oil Imperialism, by Louis Fischer. International.

International Organization

- The League of Nations—The Principle and Practice*. Edited by Stephen P. Duggan. Atlantic Monthly Press.
Five Years' Work of the League of Nations. George Allen and Unwin.
International Social Progress, by G. A. Johnston. George Allen and Unwin or The Oxford Press.
Security Against War, by Antonia Hatvany. Seltzer.
The Lawless Law of Nations, by Sterling E. Edmunds. John Byrne & Co.
The Victory of Reason, by W. Arnold-Forster. Hogarth.
Law Procedure of International Tribunals, by Jackson H. Ralston. Stanford University Press.
The Acquisition and Government of Backward Territories, by Mark F. Lindley. Longmans, Green.
The Permanent Court of International Justice, by Manley O. Hudson. Harvard University Press.
The World Court, by Antonio S. de Bustamante. Macmillan.
International Law and Some Current Illusions, by John Bassett Moore. Macmillan.
The Conduct of American Foreign Relations, by John M. Mathews. The Century Political Science Series. Century Co.

The Far East

- Historical Aspects of the Immigration Problem*, by Edith Abbot. University of Chicago Press.
Modern Immigration, by Annie M. MacLean. Lippincott.
West of the Pacific, by Ellsworth Huntington. Scribner.
Geneva Opium Conferences, by Sao-Ke Alfred See. Johns Hopkins Press.
The Foreign Relations of China, by M. J. Bau. Revell.
American Relations with China. Johns Hopkins Press.
The Unsolved Problem of the Pacific, by Kujo Sue Inui. Times.
China, an Analysis, by Frank Goodnow. Johns Hopkins Press.
Extraterritoriality: Its Rise and Its Decline, by Shih Shun Liu. Columbia University Press.
America in Eastern Asia, by Tyler Dennett. Macmillan.

Latin America and U. S. Possessions

- The Diplomatic and Commercial Relations of the United States and Chile*, by William R. Sherman. Badger.
The Destiny of a Continent, by Manuel Ugarte. Knopf.

AGNES A. SHARP.

BETTER BOOKS for ALL-ROUND READING

Any of the following books, all of which have been carefully selected after a reading by at least one member of the staff, may be ordered from *The World Tomorrow Book Shop* at the regular retail price.

We pay the postage.

Business and the Church, edited by Jerome Davis. New York: Century, 1926. 8 x 5½. 382 pages. \$2.50. A stimulating symposium by twenty-two captains and colonels of industry; also communications from General Ford, Field Marshall Green, Intelligence Officer Babson, Correspondent Davis and Chaplain Nash. Will some kind friend send copies to those Detroit ministers who closed their pulpits to A. F. of L. speakers?

Organized Labor in America, by George Gorham Groat. New York: MacMillan, 1926. 8 x 5½. 532 pages. \$3.00. A brand new edition of a well known study of the characteristics and trends of trade unionism in the United States. We offer a zinc medal to the genius who is able to devise ways and means of getting such a book read and digested by our vociferous open-shoppers.

The International Labor Organization, by Paul Perigord. New York: Appleton, 1926. 8¼ x 5½. 339 pages. \$3.00. The best description in print of the workings of an exceedingly important international institution which is little understood in this country. Recommended especially for those citizens who are afflicted with isolationitis!

A History of Russia, by Sir Bernard Pares. New York: Knopf, 1926. 9¾ x 6¾. 538 pages. \$6.00. The Professor of Russian History at the University of London writes interestingly of important events in Russia from the earliest times to the present. Sufficient attention, however, is not given to the Revolution or the Communist regime.

The War God Walks Again, by F. Britten Austin. New York: Doubleday, Page and Co. 7¾ x 5¼. 274 pages. \$2.00. Vividly written fiction that visualizes the nature of future wars. Problem: try to reconcile the use of such weapons with the gospel of loving enemies and overcoming evil with good!

Birth Control and the State, by C. P. Blacker. New York: E. P. Dutton and Company, 1926. 6¼ x 4½. 87 pages. \$1.00. Contraception in its individual, racial, and international aspects; a not uncritical though favorable study, and a valuable elementary introduction to the subject for unsanitized Americans.

Makers of Freedom, by Sherwood Eddy and Kirby Page. New York: Doran Co. 1926. 7 x 5¾. 311 pages. \$1.50. Jean de Pierrefeu has shown conclusively that Plutarch lied. He took the shine off the halo of the war heroes. Here is a book of peace heroes, pioneers and pathfinders of the great movements of liberation: religious, social, economic and racial.

American Aesop, by William Pickens. Boston: The Jordan and More Press. 1926. 7¾ x 4¾. 183 pages. \$1.50. When the next after dinner soporific begins his sadly motheaten: "It seems there were two Celtic gentlemen, Patrick and Michael," tell him about this book. Over 200 hilarious little stories, mostly about Negroes, not without some delightful pinpricks at the "superior race."

Lonesome Road, by Paul Green. New York: McBride. 1926. 7¾ x 5¾. 218 pages. \$2.00. Another significant contribution of the Negro renaissance. Six one-acters drawing on the immeasurably rich mine of Negro life.

The World of William Clissold, 1926. New York: George H. Doran & Co. 2 Vols. $5\frac{1}{4} \times 7\frac{3}{4}$. 779 pages. \$5.00. Wells, in his second volume, makes Clissold say that he is giving "a vision of this world as seen by one man." This is an extremely good summary of exactly what happens in the two volumes.

Mary Macarthur, by Mary Agnes Hamilton. New York. Seltzer. $5 \times 7\frac{3}{4}$. 210 pages. \$2.00. This biography of Mary Macarthur is valuable in its running survey of women in industry from 1902, when conditions were so bad in England, through the unionization of women before the war, the treatment of women workers by the Government in England during the war, and the difficult readjustment of the many war workers at the time of the Armistice.

Your Workshop, by Edna Plimpton. New York: Macmillan. 1926. $5\frac{1}{2} \times 7$. 116 pages. \$1.50. This small book for young boys and girls is useful in its well done descriptions and line drawings. The tools and material to be used, along with directions for making all sorts of toys, furniture and other useful articles, are given in an attractive order.

Community Drama, published under the auspices of the Playground and Recreation Association of America, by the Century Co. $5\frac{1}{2} \times 7\frac{3}{4}$. 192 pages. \$2.00. As a reference book and text book for social and community workers all over the country who are without special training in dramatic work, this is a good source for material on play production, festivals, pageants and practical programs for special occasions. The appendices are packed full of very valuable information.

WORKERS FOR PEACE

INTERNATIONAL

COMITE INTERNATIONAL D'ACTION DEMOCRATIQUE POUR LA PAIX,

34 Boulevard Raspail, Paris (7eme), France.
L'Internationale democratique et ses grands Congres annuels se proposent surtout une oeuvre de desarmement moral.—Pres. Marc Sangnier. Sec. Gen. Georges Hoog.

INSTITUTE OF INTERNATIONAL EDUCATION,

522 Fifth Ave., New York City.
Organized to promote international good-will through the interchange of professors and students with foreign countries. Stephen P. Duggan, Dir.; Mary L. Waite, Ex. Sec'y.

INTERNATIONAL FELLOWSHIP OF RECONCILIATION

15 Red Lion Sq., London W. C. 1, England.
Unites members in more than 50 countries in international, non-class, brotherhood, repudiating war and social injustice. Publishes monthly News Sheet. Secretaries: Oliver Dryer, Roger Soltan.

WOMEN'S INTERNATIONAL LEAGUE FOR PEACE AND FREEDOM,

U. S. Headquarters, 1403 H. St., Washington, D. C.
An International Organization with 24 National Sections pursuing a common program to end war through world organization for social, political and economic co-operation. International Pres., Jane Addams; Nat. Chairman, Hannah Clothier Hull; N. Y. State Chairman, Mrs. John Jay White; New York Office, 70 Fifth Ave., New York City.

WOMEN'S PEACE SOCIETY,

20 Vesey St., New York City.
The underlying principle of this Society is a belief that human life should be held sacred and inviolable under all circumstances.—Mrs. Henry Villard, Chmn.

WOMEN'S PEACE UNION OF THE WESTERN HEMISPHERE,

180 Lexington Ave., New York City.
Affiliated with War Resisters' International. Members pledged never to take part in any war. Advocating amendment to Federal Constitution making war illegal.

WORLD ALLIANCE FOR INTERNATIONAL FRIENDSHIP THROUGH THE CHURCHES,

70 Fifth Ave., New York City.
To organize the religions of the world to the end that the spirit of good will may prevail and international peace be established. Pres., William P. Merrill; Gen. Sec., Henry A. Atkinson; Chairman Exec. Com., Fred B. Smith; Educational Sec., Frederick Lynch; Extension Sec., Linley V. Gordon; Field Sec., Harry N. Holmes.

NATIONAL

AMERICAN FRIENDS SERVICE COMMITTEE,

20 South 12th St., Philadelphia, Pa.
Where the need is greatest, to demonstrate the "Better Way" by practical Christian service.—Ex. Sec. Wilbur K. Thomas.

ASSOCIATION TO ABOLISH WAR

7 Wellington Terrace, Brookline, Massachusetts.
Is radical, opposing war even in time of war, holding it always the flouting of common sense and decency. Distributes literature gratis.—Pres. Charles F. Dole. Ex. Sec. Henry W. Pinkham.

BUND HERRSCHAFTLESER SOZIALISTEN IN THE REPUBLIC OF AUSTRIA,

Klosterneuburg (near Vienna), Schiesstattegraben 237, Austria.
Propagates the principles of Anarchism, as taught by Kropotkin and Tolstoy. Issues a weekly, "Erkenntnis und Befreiung." Whole organization absolutely against war, also against defensive war, absolutely anti-militarist and against all violence. Address, Pierre Ramus.

FELLOWSHIP OF RECONCILIATION,

383 Bible House, Astor Pl., New York City.
Uniting people of many lands who repudiate war, exploitation and racial discrimination; and are committed to a way of life creative of fellowship and unity. Secretaries Paul Jones, Nevin Sayre, Geo. Collins.

FELLOWSHIP OF YOUTH FOR PEACE,

104 East 9th St., New York City.
A program at home and abroad to overcome every denial of friendship including militarism and economic imperialism. Literature upon request.

LEAGUE OF NATIONS NON-PARTISON ASSOC., INC.,

6 E. 39th St., New York City.
A program at home and abroad to overcome every denial of friendship including militarism and economic imperialism. Literature upon request.

LEAGUE OF NATIONS NON-PARTISAN ASSOC., INC.

6 E. 39th St., New York City.
Provides authentic information on League, World Court and International Labor Office by Speakers, Literature, Motion Pictures, Slides, Program, and a Reference Library.—Ex. Sec. Chas. C. Bauer.

NATIONAL COUNCIL FOR PREVENTION OF WAR,

532 17th St., N. W., Washington, D. C.
Clearinghouse publishing valuable monthly Bulletin (25c a year); "America First" cooperation posters; educational goodwill material for teachers and schools. Samples sent on request. Ex. Sec. Frederick J. Libby.

NATIONAL COUNCIL OF JEWISH WOMEN,

2109 Broadway, New York City.
Creation of will to peace through education; gradual disarmament; adherence to world court; ultimate abolition of war and substitution of compulsory arbitration.

SOCIETY TO ELIMINATE ECONOMIC CAUSES OF WAR,

Wellesley, Mass.
As economic barriers between nations are abolished and more equal opportunities to all races extended, armaments will automatically reduce and wars cease.—Isaac Sprague, Pres.

WAR RESISTERS LEAGUE,

132 West 12th St., New York City.
Unites men and women of all shades of religious, social and political belief who have determined to give no support to any war.—Jessie Wallace Hughan, Sec.

WORLD PEACE FOUNDATION (Incorp. under the laws of Mass., July 12, 1910),

40 Mt. Vernon St., Boston, Mass.
Publishes World Peace Foundation Pamphlets, documented brochures on international questions; information service; American agents for publication of League of Nations, International Labor Office and Permanent Court of International Justice—Wm. H. P. Faunce, Pres.; Edwards Cummings, Gen. Sec.; Denys P. Myers, Cor. Sec.

Fine Plays at Low Prices

VARIOUS experiments in the theatre have been made in the last few years by sincere, imaginative, courageous folk with an ideal of beauty and a high desire to make the theatre more relevant to our own age and its life and movement. By this experimentation our theatre has made vast strides, in the plays produced, in the quality of acting, in stage design; and one of the greatest achievements of the experimenters is the awakened audience—a fair-sized public that is demanding something more than farce, melodrama and empty situations. We have learned to cherish experimenters and to watch eagerly for new developments.

Many of the experimental theatres have promised repertory, and for the one reason or another have not carried out their cherished plans. Most of them have, I suppose, been forced to give up the adventure of rotating performances of many good plays in exchange for the economic security promised by the profits from the long run of a successful play,—profits necessary to cover losses on other unpopular experiments.

It has remained for the Civic Repertory Theatre, under the direction of Eva Le Gallienne, whose beautiful performances in *Liliom*, *The Swan*, *The Call of Life*, *The Master Builder*, *John Gabriel Borkman*, and other plays were so genuinely notable, to meet the problem from a new approach. Miss Le Gallienne, with cooperative backing, has taken over the Fourteenth Street Theatre and will launch a generous repertory season with five plays, *Saturday Night*, *Three Sisters*, *The Master Builder*, *John Gabriel Borkman*, and *La Locandiera*, to which several others that are to be put in rehearsal as soon as possible will be added.

Miss Le Gallienne is at the same time making another innovation,—that of low prices. In contrast to the millionaire tolls demanded up-town, the Civic Repertory Theatre will charge a \$1.50 top price. A large part of the seats will be from 50 cents to \$1.00, with popular Wednesday matinees from 35 cents to \$1.00 top. Miss Le Gallienne noticed last year, in connection with her production of the Ibsen plays, that the cheaper seats were always sold out long before the others and that people flocked to certain morning performances that were given at low rates, in spite of the inconvenience of the unusual hour. This experience, along with other observations, has convinced her that there is a large audience, demanding fine things in drama, unable to afford the high prices that prevail.

She is fortunate in her theatre; it will seat 1400 comfortably (large enough to afford her the ideal of low prices); its stage and backstage is roomy and accommodating, giving elbow-room for almost any sort of production; although the theatre was built long ago, when Fourteenth Street was fashionable for residence and promenade, it is a staunch and desirable building, as well as romantically interesting. It has seen many triumphs in the past, and unless we greatly miss our guess, it is in for a new lease of glorious events.

COLEY B. TAYLOR

A Unique Investment Opportunity

Buy stock in City Housing Corporation, a Limited Dividend Company, Organized to build better homes and communities.

THE City Housing Corporation plan of dividends limited by charter to six per cent per annum, gives home buyers the greatest possible value. Speculative profits are eliminated. Large scale building operations have further helped to bring within the means of people of moderate incomes the best type of houses and permanent gardens and playgrounds.

Within two and one-half years the Company has built at Sunnyside, Long Island City, homes for 653 families, which cost their owners between \$9 and \$11 per room per month—actually less than the usual rental of dark rooms in the city.

Additional homes for 389 families are being built now. The Company's activities depend upon the sale of its limited dividend stock to the investing public. *EVERY PURCHASER OF A \$100 SHARE AT PAR INCREASES THE EXTENT OF THE OPERATION OF THE COMPANY.*

Six per cent dividends have been paid since the beginning, and this stock is offered as a safe and at the same time useful investment. For further information write City Housing Corporation, 587 Fifth Ave., New York City, or send in coupon below.

CITY HOUSING CORPORATION

A Limited Dividend Company—

Organized to build better homes and communities.

Authorized capital \$5,000,000 in shares of \$100 each.

Directors: Alexander M. Bing, *President*; Dr. Felix Adler, John G. Agar, Leo S. Bing, Charles S. Bird, Jr., William Sloane Coffin, Thomas C. Desmond, Douglas L. Elliman, Prof. Richard T. Ely, Arthur Lehman, Frank Lord, V. Everit Macy, John Martin, Mrs. Joseph M. Proskauer, Mrs. Franklin D. Roosevelt, Robert E. Simon.

CITY HOUSING CORPORATION,
587 Fifth Avenue, New York City.

WT-11

Please send me descriptive literature with the understanding that it entails no obligation on my part.

Name
Street
City State

The CHILDREN LOOK TO YOU

IN Passaic, New Jersey, today, thousands of little children are looking to you for help. Their fathers and mothers are the striking textile workers who, since last January, have been struggling bravely for decent American living standards.

This committee has undertaken to help give milk and shoes to some ten thousand of the neediest children. If you subscribe to this fund you will be rendering genuine service to the poor and oppressed.

You cannot be deaf to the cry of these Passaic children.

Give generously to this worthy cause.

Send your check or money order to

H. S. RAUSHENBUSH, Treasurer

Passaic Children Milk Fund

Room 638, 799 Broadway, New York City

COMMITTEE—NORMAN THOMAS, Chairman

SUSAN BRANDEIS	STUART CHASE
HERBERT CROLY	ANNA N. DAVIS
EUGENE V. DEBS	JOHN DOS PASSOS
REV. JOHN HAYNES HOLMES	DR. HENRY NEUMANN
AMOS PINCHOT	JOHN NEVIN SAYRE
OSWALD GARRISON VILLARD	RT. REV. PAUL JONES

And Others

Enclosed is check for.....dollars for THE PASSAIC CHILDREN MILK FUND.

Name.....

Address.....

THE DUANE PRESS

Printers of the Better Kind

46-48 New Chambers Street New York

Phone Beekman 0139

SCATTERED SEEDS

An illustrated Monthly Magazine for children.
Published under the care of the Society of Friends.

Send 75c for one year's subscription to

SCATTERED SEEDS

c/o Friends' Central Bureau 154 N. 15th St., Phila., Pa.

EARN A TRIP TO EUROPE

Organizers, conductors and hostesses wanted for the world's largest student travel organization. 200 colleges co-operating. Offer lowest cost tours.

37 DAYS—\$295 60 DAYS—\$490

70 DAYS, 13 COUNTRIES—\$690

MEDITERRANEAN CRUISE—\$390

STUDENT TOURS - Box D - Wellesley, Mass.

MULTIGRAPHING--ADDRESSING

Complete Mailing Service—Lowest Rates in City

FEDERAL LETTER CO.

70 Fifth Avenue, N. Y. City

Watkins 4263

For Group Discussion

These questions are based largely on the material in this issue and are aimed to secure serious impartial discussions and examinations of the connections and positions set forth by the contributors. The questions are not divided into sections but any group that undertakes to study them will need to spend more than one hour together. The leader will select and adapt the questions to meet the special interests of his group.

I. Where are the points of greatest tension in the relations of the United States to the rest of the world?

The group may choose to discuss one or several of the situations dealt with in this issue or add to them. For example, the relation of the United States to: 1. Europe and War Debt developments. 2. Central and South America. 3. Far East and the Pacific. 4. Philippines. 5. League of Nations.

II. List these situations in the order of their importance to: 1. America's own welfare. 2. The welfare of the rest of the world.

III. What are the alternatives open in each situation?

1. To what extent would you agree that the present policy of our government in the situation is one of isolation? Of cooperation? Why?

IV. What difference, if any, would an active policy on the part of the government in any of these situations make for the individuals that make up your immediate group? Your political party? Your church?

For example: What difference in standard of living? Investments? Etc.

V. What difference, if any, would an active policy of cooperation make for the same groups?

VI. What modification would need to be made in the material or educational processes of these groups if the fullest fruits of the policy you would defend were to be realized?

VII. What is the relation of the policy you would be willing to back to:

1. Interventions—moral, economic or military
2. League of Nations and World Court
3. Policies involved in Bryan treaties
4. Outlawry of War

(a) What would you say as to the truth of the statement regarding interventions: "Its essence is illegality and it can only be justified by success"?

(b) What is meant by phrase "League of Nations as a habit"?

(c) Can serious national difficulties be faced openly and directly by parties for whom much is at stake? Why?

VIII. Has such a policy as the Monroe Doctrine any permanent value? If so, what? Would you have the same answer regarding the Constitution?

IX. What is the bearing of the policy you would support on the "sovereignty of the State"? Criticize the statement that nationalistic assertions of complete sovereignty must take mankind into anarchy.

X. Is the charge that "religion is an opiate for the people" a true one? Why?

XI. What, if any, contributions ought religion make to the solution of international relations. Where does it, in its present manifestations, help or hinder in the solution?

XII. Has the individual or the group any responsibility for the Foreign Policy of the United States?

(a) If you actually accepted responsibility, how would you go about to meet it?

GRACE LOUCKS

Windham County Sonnets

I

PURITAN LEGACY

THEIR fathers gave them stones to eat for bread,
 Unfertil hillsides edged with wind-warped trees.
 Never the thought of distant golden seas
 Disturbed their muddy trappings to a shed
 Or made unsavory the suppers spread
 On crumbled cloths. Homesickness could not tease
 Exiles unconscious of their true degrees
 Who thrust a yoke about the stooping head.
 They gain a hardihood in this gaunt land,
 A power of long endurance, not a zest
 For unexpected life. They cannot turn
 Except at ends of furrows; they demand
 Straight plowing, and an evening filled with rest,
 Nodding by kitchen lamps while planets burn.

II

EASTERN PIONEER

YOU raked earth's ribs for fences, sliced the ground
 With harrows, sacrificed primeval trees
 To build four walls of transitory ease;
 Yet never has your chary shrewdness found
 A way to keep these fields about your door
 In sure fecundity. If you can master
 Wild carrot for one season, all the faster
 It waves in meadows whiter than before.

You never wholly have possessed this land.
 Her genius, sleepy, yet inviolate,
 Crouches in summer forests, on lone nights
 In black midwinter you will hear a hand
 Shaking the fragile window, feel a hate
 Stalking about the fortress of your lights.

III

MEAGRE FRAGRANCE

WHY is it that this unobtrusive land
 So often stunts its women; pushes in
 The bony temple, whittles the gaunt chin,
 And makes such poverty of face demand
 Headlong compassion; twitches scanty lips,
 Compels unhappy straining eyes to fear
 Familiar transformations of the year:
 Return of old marauders in old ships?

With all life's essence in so flawed a cruse
 What wonder in some narrow place they lay
 Their meagre fragrance; that the valid use
 Go unlamented while it seep away.
 What wonder that they dread the years that bring
 No feet on which to pour their offering.

HARRIET SAMPSON.

Some Of These Books
 You Will Want ~

Others You Will
 Want To Give Friends
 For Christmas ~



Order These And All Your Books Thru

THE WORLD TOMORROW BOOK SHOP

at retail prices. We pay postage.

WE RECOMMEND

1. George Washington, The Image and the Man—W. E. Woodward - - - - - \$4.00
2. Crewe Train—Rose Macaulay - - - - - \$2.00
3. Tropic Death—Eric Walrond - - - - - \$2.50
 (Reviewed in this issue)
4. The Art of Thought—Graham Wallas - \$2.75
5. Labels—A. Hamilton Gibbs - - - - - \$2.00
6. The Making of the Modern Mind—
 John H. Randall - - - - - \$5.00
 (Reviewed in this issue)
7. Collected Poems by A. E. - - - - - \$3.75
8. The Story of Philosophy—Will Durant - \$5.00
9. The New Balkans—Hamilton Fish Arm-
 strong - - - - - \$3.00
10. Tar—Sherwood Anderson - - - - - \$3.00
11. Lord Raingo—Arnold Bennett - - - - - \$2.50
12. Her Son's Wife—Dorothy Canfield - - - \$2.00
13. Show Boat—Edna Ferber - - - - - \$2.00
14. Decadence—Maxim Gorky - - - - - \$2.50
15. On the Trail of Ancient Man—Roy
 Chapman Andrews - - - - - \$6.00
16. The Casuarina Tree—W. Somerset
 Maugham - - - - - \$2.00
17. Iowa Interiors—Ruth Suckow - - - - - \$2.50
18. Summer Storm—Frank Swinnerton - - - \$2.00
19. Notes on Democracy—H. L. Mencken - \$2.50

And in addition all the books reviewed in this issue—
 pages 226-230.

Any book in print at regular retail price.
 We pay postage.

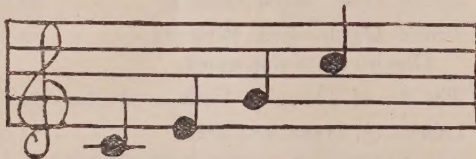
52 VANDERBILT AVE. NEW YORK CITY

The Last Page

MR. DOUGHERTY, that stalwart Republican and former servant of the realm, was not legally convicted of conspiracy to defraud the government. Testimony unrefuted and unquestionable, however, indicated a role for which he escaped conviction merely because of technicalities. I speak of it only because this is election time, and from such events as these it has become my habit to draw conclusions and to utter prophecies. To my devious ways of thought, the fall elections will redound about evenly to the favor of the Republicans and the Democrats. Had the former Attorney General been wholly cleared, the Democrats would have had a walkover; whereas a conviction might have meant another Republican landslide. For if our recent political history means anything, it shows that all a party has to do is to be caught red-handed in graft, corruption, and hypocrisy, and the respectable voters will come out in hordes to give that party power.

* * *

BUT instead of applying myself with seriousness to the current and passing elections, I, my fellow citizens, feel moved to proffer constructive and original suggestions for the political uplift of this my native land



for I dare not be insensitive to the insistent call of duty



and therefore, ladies and gentlemen, I come to you with a proposal for the enrichment (loud applause) of our spiritual ideals () taking an idea from the experience of far-off India's, er, coral strand. (A Voice:

I am a Hun
I am a Hun
A Hundred Percent Amerikun!)

For even we, my fellow countrymen, may obtain ideas from lowly lands where things do not, ah, come so high.

* * *

TO return to normal speech, let me explain that I recently came upon sample tickets for the Bombay municipal elections. All the candidates are designated by the most amazing political symbols I have ever seen. Here are no eagles, stars, or torches, no little red schoolhouses, arms and hammers, or liberty bells. Here are birds, horses, flowers, hands, men, scales, cows, lions, hand bells, chairs, swords, carts, elephants, tigers, suns, and ships. In Bombay, there seems to be little or no specific connection between the symbols and the candidacies they distinguish. But could we not, with benefit to the

public and the cause of good government, employ a more liberal use of symbols, even if adapted to our local needs, and add new interest to politics? Though the idea comes too late for use at once, think what untold advantages would have accrued to the country had we been able to utilize so helpful a system this very fall!

For Mr. Brennan of Illinois, to be explicit, we might have seen in the proper voting column a lunar beam falling upon the U. S. A. and the legend, "Moonshine." For Mr. Smith of the same state, who received such generous support from the traction interests, a figure of a live wire with the caption, "Insull-ated." For Mr. Wadsworth, in consideration of his liquor attitude, an alligator, with the terse but meaningful inscription, "Amphibian." For Mr. Vare a sadly depleted money-sack and the words "Pure Gold." For sundry candidates of the waning K.K.K., a nightshirt and flu mask, with the slogan, "America First—No Clannish Aliens." And in a hundred quarters would be found line drawings of the White House Spokesman with as many different shibboleths to fit as many coveted offices: "Save the Senate with Coolidge"; "Catch Dogs with Cal"; "Keep Dry with Coolidge"; "Modify the Dry Act with Coolidge"; "Grow Crops with Coolidge"; "Keep Well with Coolidge"; "World Cooperation with Coolidge"; "Isolation with Coolidge"; and many more too numerous and too incredible to mention. No wonder Mr. Coolidge tries to keep out of the campaign—officially—and leaves endorsements and chestnut-pulling to his Cabinet colleagues. If he tied up to every candidate who expects to ride into office on the President's magic repute, he would have to take all sides of every issue. And that, to my thinking, would be even worse than taking, as at present, no sides on anything.

* * *

WORLD WAR veterans at Plainfield, New Jersey, have taken exception to their city's war memorial, whose sponsors have made the terrible error of placing at the base of the memorial—a flagpole—the well known pacific words from Isaiah: "They shall beat their swords into plowshares, and their spears into pruning hooks; nation shall not lift up sword against nation, neither shall they learn war any more." The veterans' central board brands such an inscription as "blatant pacifism," and refuses to join in the dedication ceremonies. Permit me to call this lapse from grace to the numerous agencies which cooperated, during the War, to place Bibles in the hands of every man at the front. Somewhere there is a slip; was this passage, along with certain others, deleted by the censor? A friend of mine who refused to put on the uniform upon arrival at camp, was asked if he had with him any radical or revolutionary literature. "Yes," he replied, "there is one volume here in my bag which, from your point of view, deserves that classification." Whereupon he fished out a New Testament and handed it to a red-faced official inquisitor. But my friend was almost unique, for thousands of religious workers everywhere sought to prove that the Bible, even its highly questionable portions such as the passage from Isaiah, could get along with war without the least disharmony. So what's the matter now? Surely what could be proved so adequately in times of war can be proved now? And certainly some of the Bible interpreters will take these men in hand and show them that their excitement is quite unwarranted, and that pacifist words in the Good Book simply don't mean a thing.

Out in Kansas City they are franker. They aren't calling their magnificent architectural structure a war memorial at all. They are calling it a "Liberty Memorial," accepting the view, presumably, that it was Liberty that died.

ECCENTRICUS

Labor Press

- ADVANCE, THE** (weekly) \$2.00
Amalgamated Clothing Workers of America. 31 Union Sq., N. Y. C. Jos. Schlossberg, ed.
- ARBITRATOR, THE** (monthly) \$.60
Radical digest of news. 114 East 31st St., N. Y. C. William Floyd, ed. Also Publishes Social Progress, a Handbook of the Liberal Movement, \$2.50.
- COLORADO LABOR ADVOCATE** (weekly) \$1.00
Owned by State Federation of Labor, State Council of Carpenters, Denver Trades and Labor assembly and 28 local Unions. Room 519, E. and C. bldg., Denver, Colo. Frank L. Palmer, ed.
- EMANCIPATOR** (tri-weekly) \$3.00
Official organ of the Working People (Socialist). St. Thomas, Virgin Isls. of the U. S. Rothchild Francis, ed.
- FACTS FOR WORKERS** (monthly)
Combination news service and economic bulletin. Labor Bureau, Inc., 2 West 43d St., N. Y. C. George Soule and Sara Bernheim, eds.
- FUR WORKER, THE** (fortnightly) \$.50
International Fur Workers Union of U. S. and Canada, 9 Jackson Ave., L. I. City, N. Y. Morris Kaufman and A. Rosebury, eds.
- INDUSTRIAL UNIONIST, THE** (weekly) \$2.00
Advocates revolutionary industrial unionism. Emergency Program Branches of the I. W. W., P. O. 3291, Portland, Ore. James Lance, ed.
- JEWISH DAILY FORWARD** (daily)
Endorsed by Socialist Party, United Hebrew Trades, Workmen's Circle. Forward Assoc., 175 E. Broadway, N. Y. C. Abraham Cahan, ed.
- JEWISH WORKERS' VOICE** (monthly) \$1.00
Jewish National Workers' Alliance of America. c/o. Yiddish Art Theatre, 2nd Ave. and 12th St., N. Y. C.
- JUSTICE** (weekly) \$1.50
International Ladies' Garment Workers Union, 3 West 16th St., N. Y. C. Max D. Danish, ed.
- LABOR** (weekly) \$2.00
Owned and edited by the railroad labor organizations. Dedicated to the service of mankind. Edward Keating, ed. 10 B. St., S. W., Washington, D. C.
- LIFE AND LABOR BULLETIN** (monthly) Sub. \$1.00
Covers activities of National Women's Trade Union League of America and some happenings in Labor Movement. 311 So. Ashland Blvd., Chicago, Ill.
- LOCOMOTIVE ENGINEERS' JOURNAL** (monthly)
Brotherhood of Locomotive Engineers, 806 Engineers' bldg., Cleveland, Ohio. Albert Coyle, ed. \$1.50
- NEW LEADER, THE** (weekly) \$2.00
Official organ, Socialist Party, New Leader Assoc., 7 East 15th St., N. Y. C., James Oneal and Edward Levinson, eds.
- ONE BIG UNION BULLETIN** (weekly) \$2.00
Canada's greatest labor paper. 54 Adelaide St., Winnipeg, Man., Canada. T. E. Moore, ed.
- RAILWAY CLERK, THE** (monthly) \$1.00
Brotherhood of Railway and Steamship Clerks, Freight Handlers, Express and Station Employees. 704 Brotherhood of Railway Clerks Building, Cincinnati, Ohio. Phil. E. Ziegler, ed.
- ROAD TO FREEDOM, THE** (monthly) \$1.00
Exponent of Anarchist thought, work and literature. Stelton, N. J. Hippolyte Havel, ed.
- WEEKLY PEOPLE** \$2.00
"Revolutionary Socialism—Industrial Unionism." Official organ Socialist Labor Party. 45 Rose St., N. Y. C. Olive M. Johnson, ed.

Progressive Schools

Alabama

SCHOOL OF ORGANIC EDUCATION

Fairhope, Ala.
For boys and girls from kindergarten to college. Boarding and day school. Under the direction of Marietta Johnson.

Illinois

THE JUNIOR ELEMENTARY SCHOOL

Downer's Grove, Ill.
Write Miss Lucia Burton Morse.

Michigan

MERRILL-PALMER SCHOOL

71 Ferry Avenue, Detroit, Mich.
A foundation endowed for teaching home-making and child care. A limited number of students of senior and graduate rank sent by various colleges and universities.

New Jersey

THE MODERN SCHOOL

Stelton, N. J.
Initiative, Self-activity, Creative-activity.
Write Mr. Alexis C. Fern.

SAINT JOHN'S SCHOOL (Non-Sectarian)

Boulevard and Tower Hill Road, Mountain Lakes, N. J.
Write Mrs. Henry B. Wilson.

New York

THE CITY AND COUNTRY SCHOOL

165 West 12th St., New York, N. Y.
Experimental in practice.
Write Miss Caroline Pratt.

THE ETHICAL CULTURE SCHOOL

63rd St. and Central Park West, New York, N. Y.

HOFFMANN SCHOOL FOR INDIVIDUAL DEVELOPMENT

Libby Castle, Fort Washington Avenue at 193rd St., N. Y. C.

JEFFERSON SCHOOL

23 West 87th St., New York City.
A Progressive Day School for Boys and Girls.
Write Sylvia J. Marks.

LOCUST FARM SCHOOL

Poughquag, N. Y. (Dutchess County).
For younger boys and girls.
Summer Camp, June 1st to October 1st.
Write Clarinda C. Richards.

MANUMIT SCHOOL

Pauling, Dutchess County, New York.
A modern school for the children of workers.
Write William M. Fincke.

MOHEGAN MODERN SCHOOL

Mohegan Colony, Crompond Rd., Peekskill, N. Y. Co-educational. Special attention to creative work. Have a few vacancies for boarding pupils.
Write Jas. H. Dick.

Ohio

ANTIOCH SCHOOL, Yellow Springs, Ohio

Associated with Antioch College and offering a complete education for boys and girls from kindergarten to college. Boarding Department.
Write Mr. Edwin Zazitz.

Pennsylvania

OK LANE COUNTRY DAY SCHOOL

of Philadelphia.
A progressive school for boys and girls from kindergarten to college. Write Francis M. Froelicher, Headmaster.

France

MAISON-ECOLE INTERNATIONALE,

8, Rue Guichard, Paris-XVIIe.
To learn French language, literature and art according to modern methods. Education of character, Co-operation in household work, Games, etc.
Write Madame Andree Jouve.

Switzerland

FELLOWSHIP SCHOOL, Gland (Vaud), Switzerland

A home school for boys and girls of all nations, races, classes and creeds.
Write Miss Emma Thomas.

WATCH—

THE WORLD TOMORROW

The October *World Tomorrow*, "Militarism in the U. S. A." was a significant number—100,000 copies were distributed. Everywhere it is being read. Among other letters, one from Ohio reads: "Every article was good, but I wish especially to commend your signed editorial, 'But Evil Must Be conquered.' You have taken, for this materialistic age, a very advanced position, but only the one every other professed believer in the teachings of Jesus should take."

Kc54224

Here is the November Issue: "Towards a Constructive Foreign Policy." Critics who have seen this in proof say that never in one magazine have they seen such a complete, strong and effective group of titles on one subject treated by such eminently equipped writers. Have you?

In December *The World Tomorrow* Will Be on "Dictatorship and Democracy." Savel Zimand, Arnold Wolfers, Harold J. Laski, Bruce Bliven, Harry F. Ward and L. P. Jacks are writing articles on What Are the Dictators Doing? Limitations of Democracy, How Can Democracy Be Saved? The Basis of Representation in Government, Agencies of Publicity and Democracy, The Relation of Economics to Politics, and The Human Factor in Government.

Kc54224

The First Issue for 1927 Fittingly Will Be a Youth number. The Eight Prize Winning Essays in Our Contest on "What Youth Is Thinking," which closes November 10th, will be printed. This promises to be an important and interesting reflection of the Mind of Youth.

February—The Philippines

Subscribe to The World Tomorrow

You and your friends and relatives need *The World Tomorrow* for its facts and opinions as you form your ideas and plan your actions on important public questions.

Christmas is not far off. As you make your lists, build *The World Tomorrow* into your plans for your friends and for yourself. In the list below there are \$2, \$4, \$5 and \$6 gift combinations.

Save One or Several Dollars

Here are your favorite magazines in combinations. On each group you can save \$1.00 and by forming any combination you wish of these magazines you can save several dollars.

Make the combination you like and build your club subscription to go to one or several addresses. Use the following form or write us a letter.

Special Offers

1. The World Tomorrow and The American Mercury..... \$6.00
2. The World Tomorrow and The Atlantic Monthly..... \$5.00
3. The World Tomorrow and The Century..... \$6.00
4. The World Tomorrow and The Christian Century..... \$4.00
5. The World Tomorrow and The Dial \$6.00
6. The World Tomorrow and The Nation \$6.00
7. The World Tomorrow and The New Republic..... \$6.00
8. The World Tomorrow and The Survey \$6.00
9. The World Tomorrow and The Survey Graphic..... \$4.00
10. A \$7.50 gift would include The Atlantic Monthly, The Christian Century and The World Tomorrow.
11. For \$9.50 you can have The Atlantic Monthly, The American Mercury and The World Tomorrow. Or as a variation of this arrangement for The Atlantic Monthly or The American Mercury you may substitute either The Survey, The Nation, The Dial, The New Republic or The Century.

THE WORLD TOMORROW,
52 Vanderbilt Avenue, New York City.

Dear Sirs:

I enclose \$..... to cover the special combination offer number as checked above. Send these magazines to

Name.....

Address.....

Name.....

Address.....